We the People

A Magazine for Pennsylvanians

In this Issue . . .

NEW LAMPS FOR OLD

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Steel's Share of FOOL'S GOLD

September 1, 1936 Volume 1, No. 14 Price 10c

HEALTH AND HAPPINESS . . . COURTESY W. P. A.

Little Donald, 20 Months Old, Gurgles Happily as He Takes His Cod Liver Oil. He Knows That His Mother Burdened With Housework and the Care of Eight Youngsters Has Her Load Lightened With the Help of W. P. A. and Competent Housekeeper Aid Mrs. Roland. The W. P. A. Aides Step in When People in Sickness and Distress Need Someone to Help.

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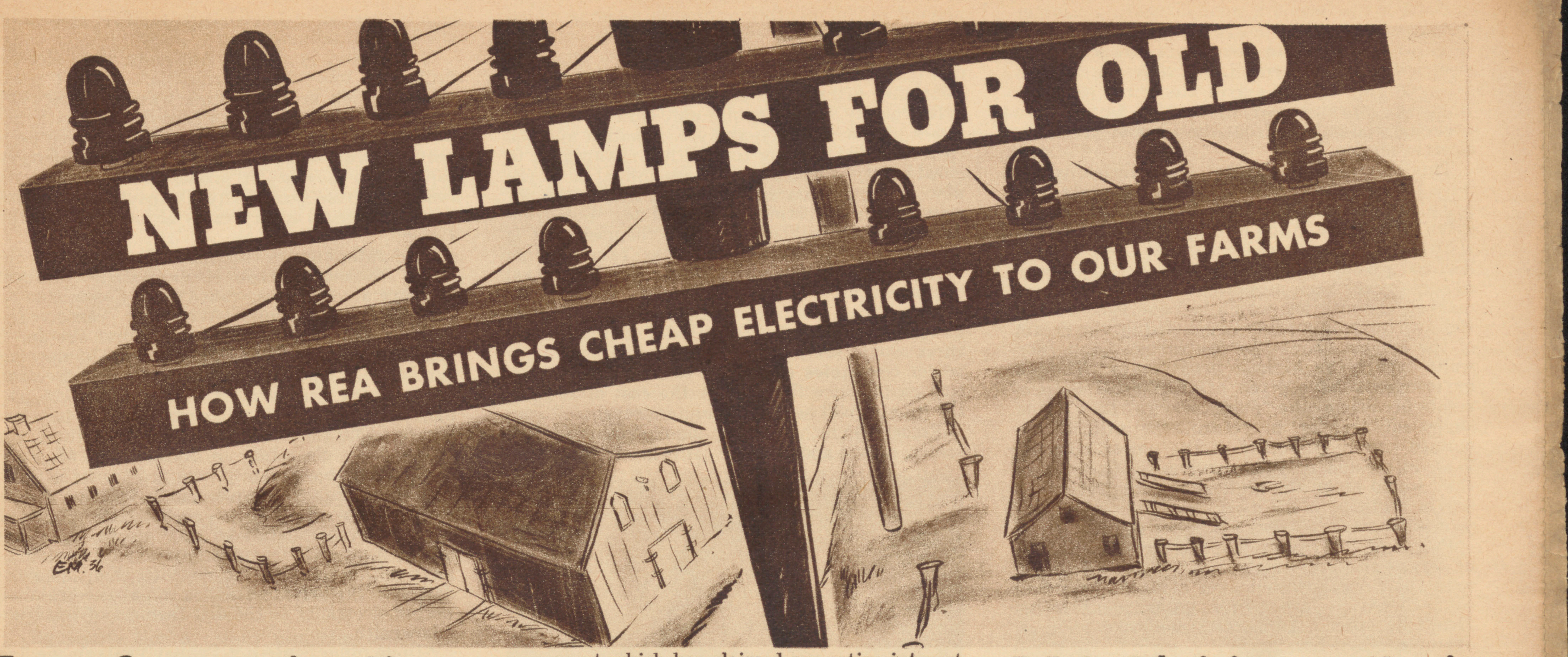

NEW LAMPS FOR OLD
HOW REA BRINGS CHEAP ELECTRICITY TO OUR FARMS
EM. 36

Farm Cooperative Lines Built With Rural Electrification Loans Bring Cheap Power; Force Lower Rates From Greedy Utilities; First Project at Meadville.

IN A field five miles north of Meadville, Crawford County, one day early this month, an American flag fluttered to the top of a power line pole. A great cheer swelled up from the throats of 4,000 farmers who had come to celebrate the first pole-setting of the Rural Electrification Administration in this State.

It was truly an historic occasion.

As that first pole went into the ground, the first shackle was struck out of the chains in which grasping utility monopolies have bound the farmers of this State.

It meant that the 75 percent of Pennsylvania farmers whom these money-mad utilities have kept in the darkness of the Kerosene Age were getting a New Deal—were getting New Lamps for Old.

It meant that the first move had been made toward lowering their extortionate rates, and the more extortionate minimum charges they had ground out of the farmer for stringing lines over which they sold him power.

It meant that the Republican Senate, which at the beck of its overlords, the utility monopolists, had killed three rural electrification bills in the last regular session of Legislature, was seeing that local initiative was bringing to the farmers of Crawford County what the "utility Senators" had denied them. It meant that the contemptuous sneer with which Senators G. Mason ("Billion Dollar") Owlett and Theodore Lane Bean had dismissed these same bills was being wiped off their faces.

DIGGING FOR THE FIRST REA POLE

Said Rural Electrification Administrator Morris L. Cooke in his speech at Meadville:

"This is the first pole in the first farmer-organized rural electrification project in Pennsylvania. To me its setting is, for two reasons, a genuine cause of rejoicing. In the first place, I am happy to join in celebrating this advance in a movement which has claimed my active interest for so many years. In the second place, as a native Pennsylvanian, I take real pleasure in knowing that my home State has enlisted in this cause of rural electrification, **a cause which means immediate and future employment for local labor, stimulated business for local industry, release from drudgery for hundreds of farm men and women, greater convenience and comfort for the farm home**—in short, a better standard of living. All these advantages you people, individually and collectively, have won for yourself through determined group action."

The Meadville REA project is sponsored by the Northwestern Rural Electric Cooperative Association in Meadville, whose 91 directors aided the celebration by each taking a hand at digging the first hole. The Northwestern Cooperative has signed a loan contract with REA for $101,000; and an additional $299,000 has been allocated for the project—a total of $400,000. The construction now started will include some 125 miles of line to serve some 725 customers in Crawford and Erie Counties. The entire project will include about 375 miles of line serving 1,500 customers.

The REA loan covers the entire construction cost of the project. It will be amortized by regular equal payments over a 21-year period, the payments to include both the reduction of the principle and interest on the unpaid balance at 3 percent. Because of difficulties in obtaining a satisfactory wholesale rate contract, the REA funds include an allowance for a diesel generating plant.

REA stands ready to advance money to any Pennsylvania project which its sponors demonstrate will be feasible, and which comes under the Rural Electrification Act of 1936. During the current fiscal year $600,000 has been definitely earmarked for Pennsylvania by Administrator Cooke. An additional $2,500,000 will be available for use in this State if local initiative develops projects to warrant such an amount.

There is a great need for rural electrification in this State. The lack of adequate electric service for farmers is the fault of Pennsylvania's grasping utilities companies, which under forty long years of Republican rule have been able to maintain the highest rates in the country—and to discriminate against farm users.

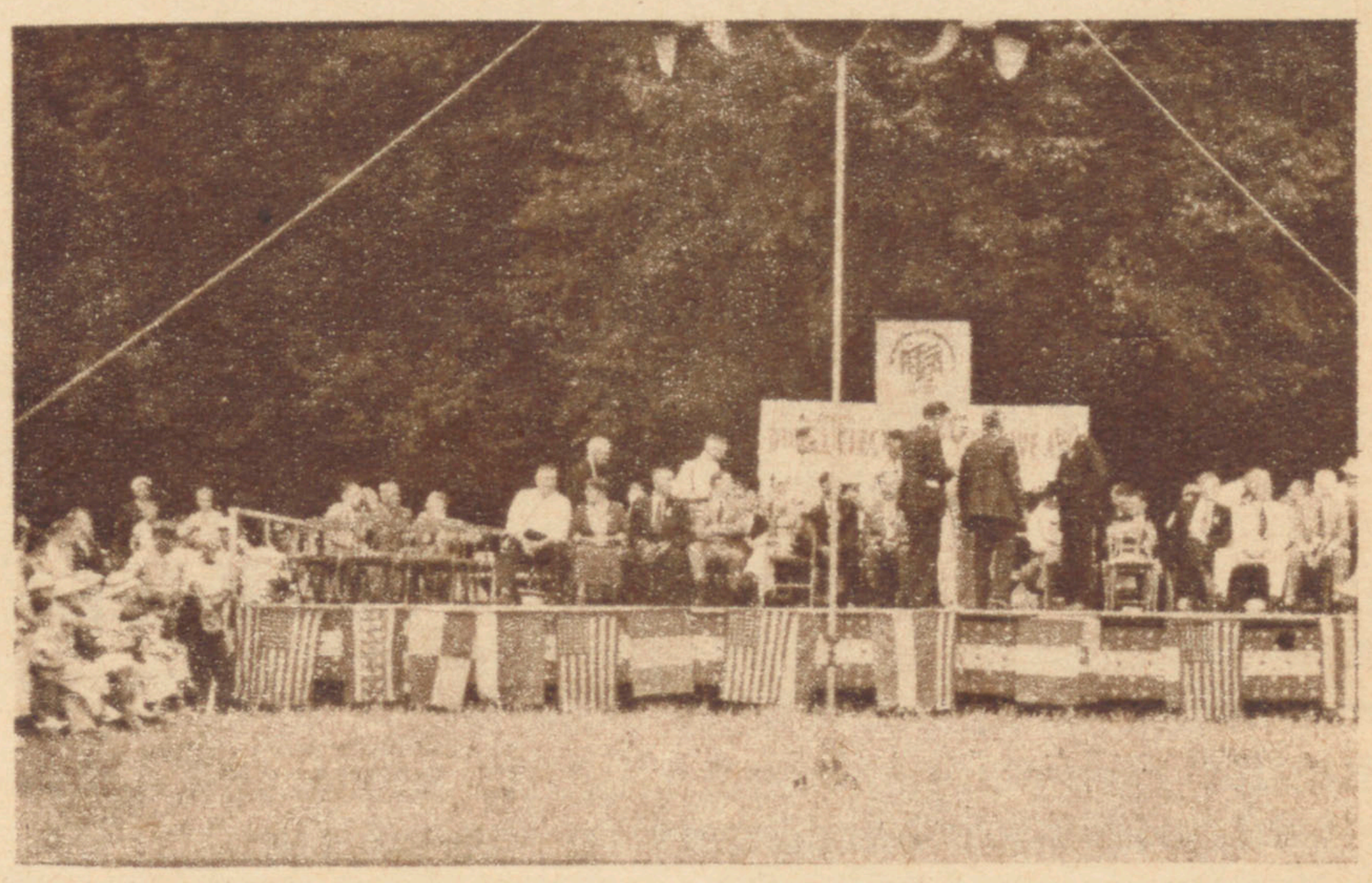
Utilities Fault. Policies of the greedy utilities have made Pennsylvania a backward State insofar as electric use and consumption is concerned. Rural electrification especially has lagged sadly in Pennsylvania between the years 1924 and 1935. Said Administrator Cooke in his speech at Meadville:

"In the latter year high line electric service reached 38 percent of New England farms, 35 percent of New York farms, 52 percent of New Jersey farms, **but only 25 percent of Pennsylvania farms.** An uncomfortable fact about the 25 percent receiving central station service is that many of these farms were in metropolitan areas; the truly rural counties of this State were much worse off. Let me illustrate by figures from the United States Census for 1930. In that year, 19 percent of all Pennsylvania farms had central station service. Omitting seven counties which are metropolitan in character, we find that the average of farm electrification for the other 50 counties in Pennsylvania was less than 17 percent . . . **In spite of favorable natural factors in Pennsylvania, the 1930 Census further showed that in 18 out of its 57 counties not more than 10 percent of the farms had central station service; in 5 counties less than 5 percent of the farms were served."**

R.E.A. Administrator Morris Cooke Exposes Fake, Utility Dominated Joint Committee For Rural Electrification; Backed by Governor and Counsel Beamish.

In other words, so far as the benefits from the greatest useful discovery of modern times goes—the application of electric power to our daily life and work—75 percent of Pennsylvania farmers might just as well be living in the middle ages. **The Electric Trust is keeping them back in the age of the Kerosene Trust**—a phrase which most people forgot a generation ago.

Says the Federal Power Commission Survey of Rural Electric Rates: "In many respects, electric energy is of greater importance to farm families than it is to urban dwellers. Whereas residential customers in cities and towns use energy only for domestic purposes, electric energy is used on farms for such chores as water pumping, wood cutting, feed grinding, milking, churning, and incubator operation. Its use for washing, ironing, cleaning, cooking, water heating and refrigeration immeasurably lightens the burden of the farm woman. Electric lighting also makes the farm home more attractive as a center of family and social life.



THE SPEAKERS' PLATFORM AT MEADVILLE

Asks Administrator Cooke: "What were the barriers, in this great and prosperous Commonwealth, to the extension of electric service through so many rural districts? In essence, they were the same barriers which used to retard rural electrification in other States where happily a more progressive attitude has lately been adopted. **Utility companies were unwilling to extend lines into rural areas unless a certain minimum income was guaranteed.** Furthermore, they

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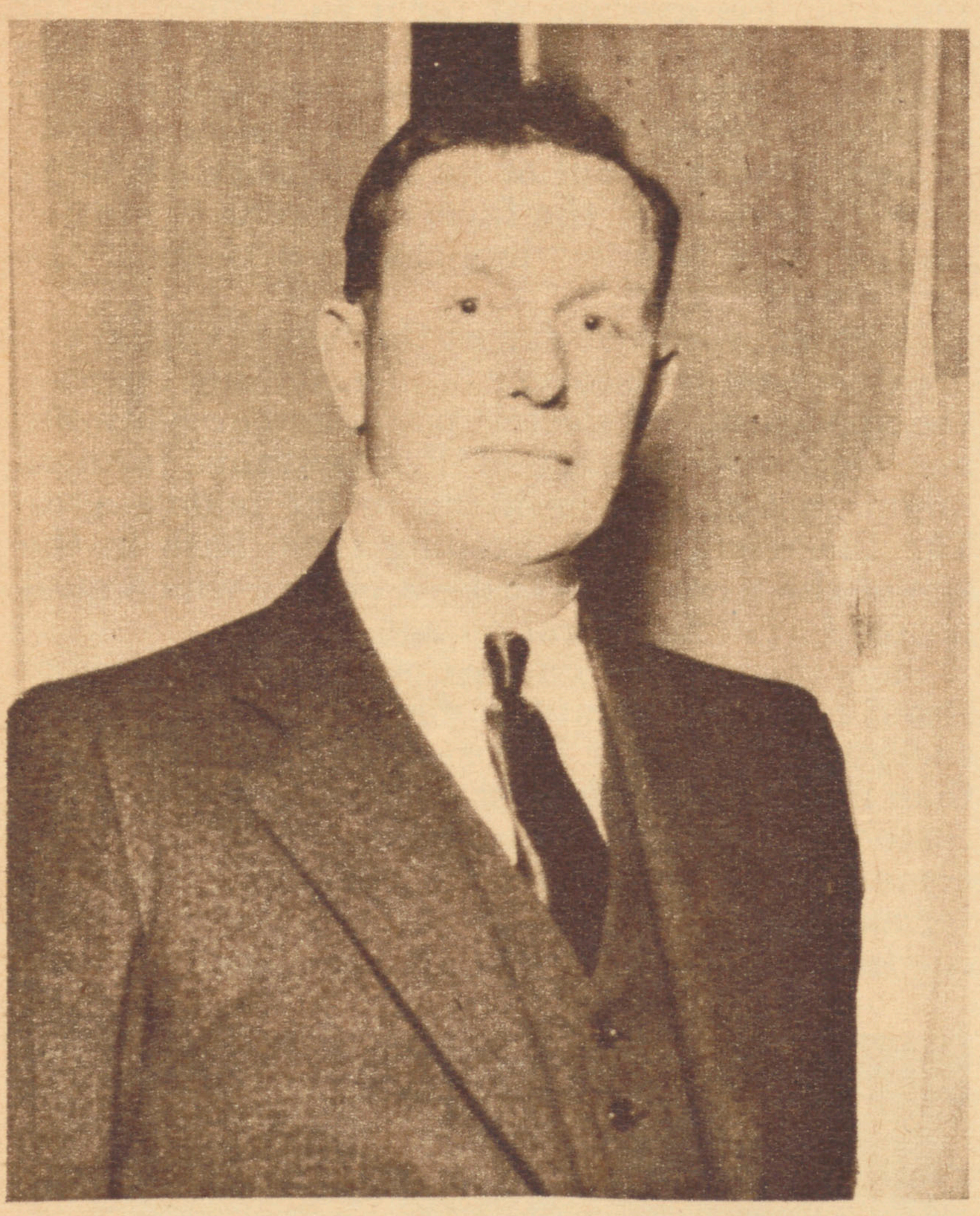
considered the farmer a small domestic consumer instead of a potential power customers; **and their rates were such as to discourage power uses of electricity on the farm.** Lines were constructed to serve only the cream of the rural territory while the outlying and intervening farms were pocketed and cut off from the hope of receiving electric service."

This means precisely that the utilities, which have been encouraged by such inducements as a private businessman never receives, **which are given monopolies in the interest of public service,** show far less enterprise than, say, your neighborhood grocer. When the Giant Power Survey of some years back measured the potential farm market, the utilities, which had overlooked some rich territory, immediately gobbled up the cream of the market showed by the survey. **But they wanted only the highest profit areas. Though governments have given utilities great inducements because of the "public service" they would supposedly render in return, the utilities remained private servants of the power monopolists, interested only in serving sections where they would make the highest possible returns—** not in sections where they would show smaller profit. Not a loss—but a smaller profit.

For the greater portion of the farm market can be served at a reasonable profit. But the utilities, with their dog-in-the-manger attitude, have had to be forced into going into this market. In his Meadville speech Administrator Cooke gave an example. Said he:

"If you will permit me, I should like to outline to you the recent activity in New York. For us here in Pennsylvania it is certainly illuminating. Last summer some cooperative groups, under the guidance of the Grange and the Power Authority of the State of New York, applied to REA for aid in building rural lines. When the power companies saw this, they really began to hustle. One utility officer asserted that if such a program of rural electrification were going to be carried out, the companies could not afford to let anyone else do it. **One large company reduced its monthly minimum for three customers per mile from $8.00 to $3.50; for four customers, the minimum is $2.00.** Other companies have made similar reductions, some slightly more and some slightly less advantageous to the consumer. Before the close of 1935, these New York companies had filed plans calling for the construction in 1936 of 3,500 miles of new rural lines to serve 16,000 new customers. When these lines have been built, about 40 percent of the farms in New York State will have central station service—at rates lower than ever before. In addition to the lines planned for 1936, about 5,500 miles more have been designated for construction at a later date. We need more of that kind of spirit and action in Pennsylvania, and the work you people are undertaking is just the sort of thing that will bring it about."



JOINT COMMITTEE'S AGENT McKEE
How much of his salary do the Utilities pay—and for what?

Last year the Public Service Commission of Pennsylvania, which has begun to show a slightly progressive drift under Governor Earle, and which is spurred by the fearless and liberal Counsel appointed by the Governor, Mr. Richard J. Beamish, ordered a reduction of 15 percent in the monthly minimum revenue which must be guaranteed by the customers before a utility will build a rural line. It also approved rate schedules to permit the abandonment of this guarantee after it has been paid for seven years.

But as Mr. Cooke points out, that is more or less a hollow victory—and Mr. Beamish and the Governor are striving for further advantages to rural utility consumers. On an annual basis the new minimum guarantee comes to about 18 per cent of the investment in the line. But from figures of the utility companies themselves it is shown that investment in lines ranges from $1,400 to $2,158 per mile. That means that rural customers must pay from $252 to $388 a year for the lines the companies erect to sell them power. Says Mr. Cooke: **"Under such a system there would seem to be little real incentive for power companies to try to reduce line construction costs, since the greater the cost of the line the greater will be their minimum revenue."**

Present monthly minimum charges per customer, of one and one-half percent of the investment in the line, runs from $5.47 to $8.09. For while the method of determining the charges is the same, the charges themselves show unjust variations. Pennsylvania farmers who pay the lowest monthly minimum must still pay 37 percent more than what is charged by companies in Wisconsin; 75 percent higher than the charge in Michigan; and 173 percent higher than the charge in New York. Those figures are based on the lowest investment per mile. When minimum charges are compared on the basis of the highest cost per mile, **the shocking fact is revealed that a farmer would have to guarantee a minimum 200 percent higher than the amount required in Wisconsin; more than 250 percent higher than the guarantee in Michigan; and more than 400 percent higher than the amount required in New York.** Yet these three States can duplicate almost every condition imposed on a Pennsylvania utility when it comes to building rural lines. The high costs in Pennsylvania, then, are not the result of Pennsylvania topography or population, but result from a combination of utility greed and long years of Republican control. Utility greed and Republican politics always worked hand-in-hand—and never more than during the terms of that clay-footed political Pharisee, Gifford Pinchot, who always promised utility reform during his campaigns, but never seemed able to get around to it during his terms of office.

Photo by Bachrach

REA ADMINISTRATOR COOKE
Saw a new utility deal for the Pennsylvania farmer.

Dead Hands. There are still two agencies through which the dead hand of Republican politics is used by the utilities to strangle low-cost rural electrification. One is the GOP State Senate, which has a perfect score for killing rural electrification bills. Another is the so-called Joint Committee for Rural Electrification, which is dominated by the utilities companies. •

The Rural Yardstick

Why, you might ask, do utilities oppose rural electrification by other agencies if they themselves have been unwilling to enter the farm market? Why did they have the GOP State Senate kill rural electrification bills in the last regular session of Legislature, the first session of the Earle Administration?

The answer is simple. Adequate rural electrification is low-cost electrification. **Proper rural electrification is a yardstick which proves that the utility monopolies in Pennsylvania, with the blessings of past Republican regimes, have been getting away with murder in their high charges for electric power. It proves that there is no reason in the world why Pennsylvania should pay the highest utility rates of any State in the Union.**

Said Administrator Cooke: "The principal obstacle to the further electrification of rural Pennsylvania is the so-called Joint Committee on Rural Electrification. Whatever reason for existence it may have had when first set up, it has disappeared. It is now not only hampering further electrification in this State but freezing rates which the farmers cannot afford to pay and continuing extension rules obsolete elsewhere. The facts are so obvious that the Commonwealth's Secretary of Agriculture (J. Hansell French) has recently resigned from the Committee, as has your own public-spirited fellow townsman W. S. Wise. Now the time has come when the representatives of State Colleges and of the farmers' organizations should decide to have nothing further to do with this ingenious device of the private utilities to put the brake on taking electricity to the dirt farmers of the Commonwealth.

"In no other State but Pennsylvania do we find the Public Service Commission **turning over to a committee the President of which is the president of an electric operating company, its responsibility for promoting rural electrification and regulating the relations between the farmers and the electric utility companies which serve them.** The manager of this unique enterprise is not an employe of the Public Service Commission or of the State Administration. On the surface at least he is not a private company employe. Yet we have never heard of a farmer chipping in to help pay his salary. Why does the Public Service Commission pick out the farmers of the State for this very special treatment?"

SENATOR ("BILLION DOLLAR") OWLETT
He and Senator Bean sneered three rural electrification bills into oblivion

Fortnight ago the Public Service Commission's fearless and liberal Counsel, Richard J. Beamish, recommended that the Commission sever its relations with this hypocritical Joint Committee. So far a majority of the PSC—most of them holdovers from the Republican regime—oppose Mr. Beamish's stand. But few who know PSC Counsel Beamish's fighting qualities doubt that he will fight through a new deal for the farmer. A measure of how the utility monopolists fear Counsel Beamish is that several years ago, when he was appointed a member of the PSC, he stayed on the Commission only a few months before the Mellons had him kicked off. Today he is its Counsel, appointed by Governor Earle, and the Governor's special representative in utility matters.

The Joint Committee was established in 1926. At that time utilities could inflict their rate schedules on farmers by simply filing them with

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the PSC. The burden was on the farmer to show that rates were too high.

In his brief term on the PSC, Mr. Beamish insisted on a change. He suggested that farmers should boycott utilities until they agreed to a provision whereby the rates would not become official until farmers' representatives agreed to them. From this provision sprange the Joint Committee, with farm representatives and utility representatives sitting down to discuss rates together.

But, in the words of Mr. Beamish: **"The utilities saw that the Joint Committee could be made an ideal medium for their purposes. If utilities placed their representatives in key positions, they could control rural electrification."**

So the Mellons had Mr. Beamish kicked off the PSC. And the utilities elected John S. Wise, president of Pennsylvania Power & Light Company, as permanent chairman of the Joint Committee. They placed their man, John McKee, as agent of the Committee. **It is significant that Mr. McKee has refused to reveal what salary he is paid, and how much of it is paid by the utilities.** But as it stands today, the utility members of the Joint Committee have all the facts and figures at their command; the farmers can be only yes men in the utility schemes. And the Joint Committee, through its Agent McKee, acts unofficially for the PSC!

The Senate Guard. Many problems beset the farmer when he attempts to grapple with the utilities. For example, utilities companies have the power of eminent domain—the power to condemn land for public purposes—say for stringing their lines. Farm cooperative electric companies are denied this power.

In the last regular session of Legislature the Earle Administration introduced three rural electrification bills which would have given the farmer an even break. These bills were killed in the GOP Senate.

They were killed with a contemptuous sneer by G. Mason ("Billion Dollar Senator") Owlett of Tioga County, now Republican National Committeeman, and Senator Theodore Lane Bean of Montgomery Country. Here is the story:

The job of steering the bills through Legislature was assigned to WPA Administrator Edward N. Jones, then Secretary of Labor and Industry. The bills went through the House. Mr. Jones asked for a conference with three Republican Senators. Mr. Owlett and Mr. Bean showed up. They asked only this: "Are the utilities for these bills." The answer was that the utilities were not for them. Mr. Owlett and Mr. Bean terminated their conference right then. **These Republican Senators had only the most sneering contempt for the desires and well-being of the farmer. They were "utility men."**

The Sliding Scale. But the New Deal has made possible a new deal in utilities for the Pennsylvania farmer—and for all Pennsylvanians. Rural electrification can prove to Pennsylvanians that current utility charges are too high. And Counsel Beamish is currently advocating a plan which will simplify rate adjustments. The plan is the sliding scale for power rates.

HIS NOSE KNOWS
Fences lightly charged with current always keep livestock in.

The present method of rate fights is long-drawn and expensive. Unless a utility makes a voluntary reduction, there must be a rate case. A rate case involves an inventory and appraisal of utility property, which takes years. One rate case ran 8½ years. The Williamsport Natural Gas case took 4½ years. The current Pennsylvania Power & Light Case (the Governor advised that the company's offer of $1,500,000 reduction in rates annually be accepted, but that the rate case be continued) will probably take over two years.

The sliding scale means this: A utility is compelled to make an inventory and appraisal (checked by the PSC) and to keep it up to date. On this valuation the PSC sets the rate base. Then according to the sliding scale, as receipts go up, rates come down.

Says Mr. Beamish: "This will mean a steady decline in rates with a continued fair profit to the utility companies. For we are just entering upon an era of electric power. Even through the Depression the use of power kept mounting, until now it exceeds all peaks. If the sliding scale were now in effect electric rates would be perhaps one-half of what they are. It is intolerable and unjust that the people of Pennsylvania should be compelled to wait years, under the present method, for a reduction in rates."

FRESH WATER MEANS MORE MILK
Electric power pumps pure, fresh water into automatic drinking fountains.

WHETSTONE, 1936 STYLE
Cheap electric power makes all farm chores easier.

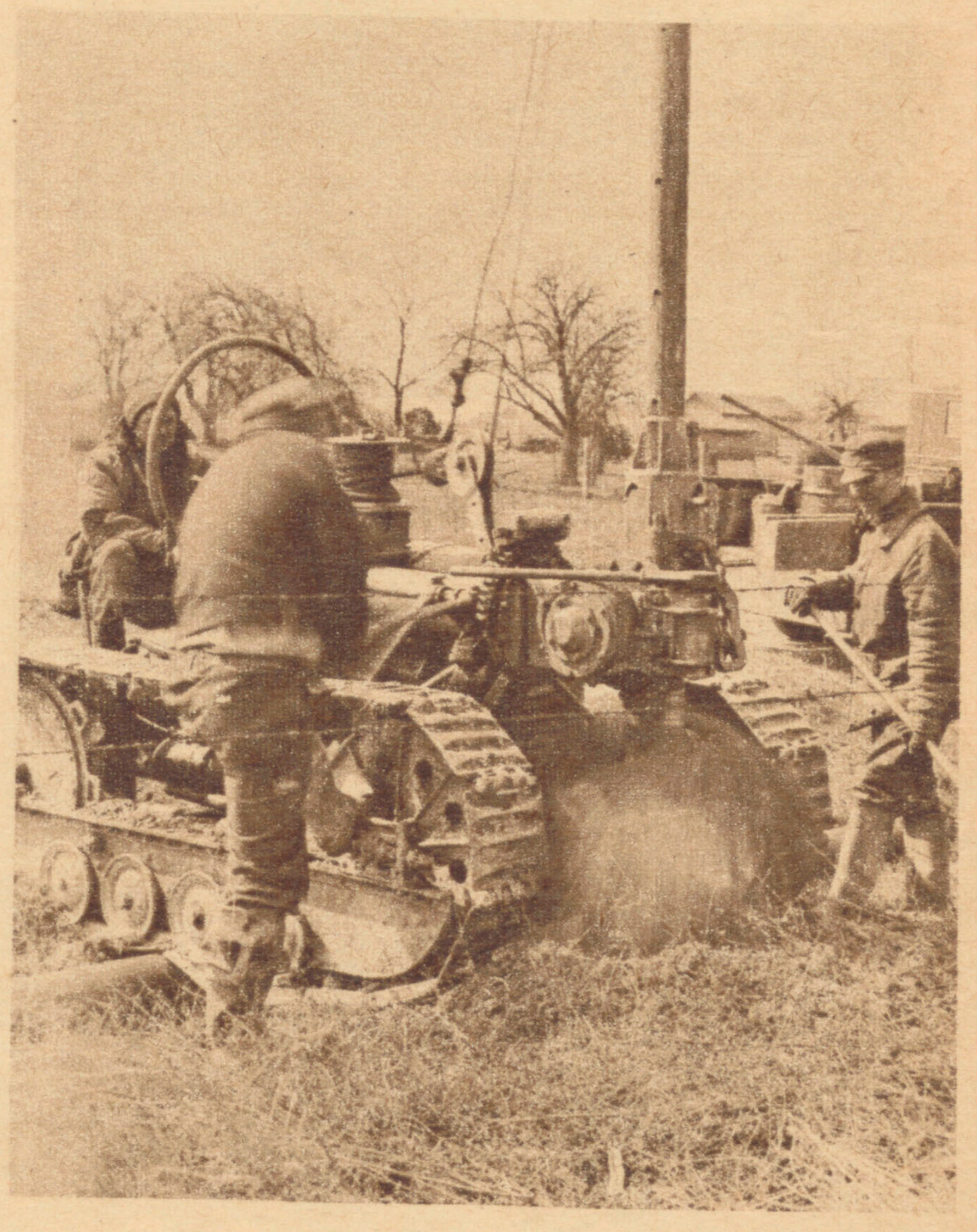
REA and You. The Rural Electrification Act, sponsored and passed by the Roosevelt Administration, means a New Deal not only for farmers, but also for you—wherever you live. Its general tendency will be to bring power rates down to an equitable level.

Administrator Cooke has some $3,100,000 available for Pennsylvania this year—if Pennsylvania farmers have the initiative to organize for rural electrification. Says he:

"A word of caution is in order. The REA is dependent on local initiative for its projects and it knows that local initiative is essential for sound cooperatives. Despite earnest pleadings, REA has itself refused to organize cooperatives. Cooperatives cannot be forced upon a local group either by the private utilities or by public agencies. The utilities will be well advised not to hamper local initiative when it appears, and not to force cooperative organizations upon reluctant communities."

The process of securing contracts with REA has been made as simple as possible. Rural electrification may be extended by agencies of a State (this ruled out for Pennsylvania when the GOP Senators killed electrification bills), by municipalities with existing plants, by utility or power districts, by existing public utility corporations, or by associations such as farmer cooperatives.

When the agency applies, its proposals are given a careful scrutiny. After several examining divisions have approved a project, it goes to the Administrator for approval. Then an application for an allotment is made to the President. Funds are then made available by the U. S. Treasury for disbursement on requisition from REA. A loan contract is made between REA and the borrower. The normal loan calls for interest at 3 percent and amortization over 20 years.



FAST WORK
This Deisel boring machine can set five miles of REA line a day.

Planning the Cooperative. REA suggests six steps for organizing a local cooperative. They are:

(1 Call a meeting of all people interested, and likely to become customers of a rural electrification association.

(2) Form a committee to arrange plans for organization.

(3) Call another meeting to appoint local committees to call on farmers and see whether they want to participate, either as members or customers.

(4) Get their signatures as to their intent to buy power if the lines are built, with some indication of the amount they feel able to pay.

(5) Apply to REA for construction of the lines.

(6) If the loan is approved, the group should incorporate under State laws, in the manner most desirable. Articles of incorporation and proposed by-laws should be sent to the REA legal department for helpful suggestions.

Farmers will be helped by long-term financing to wire and equip their properties. No consumer will be required to mortgage his farm for the cost of line construction, nor for the obligations of other consumers.

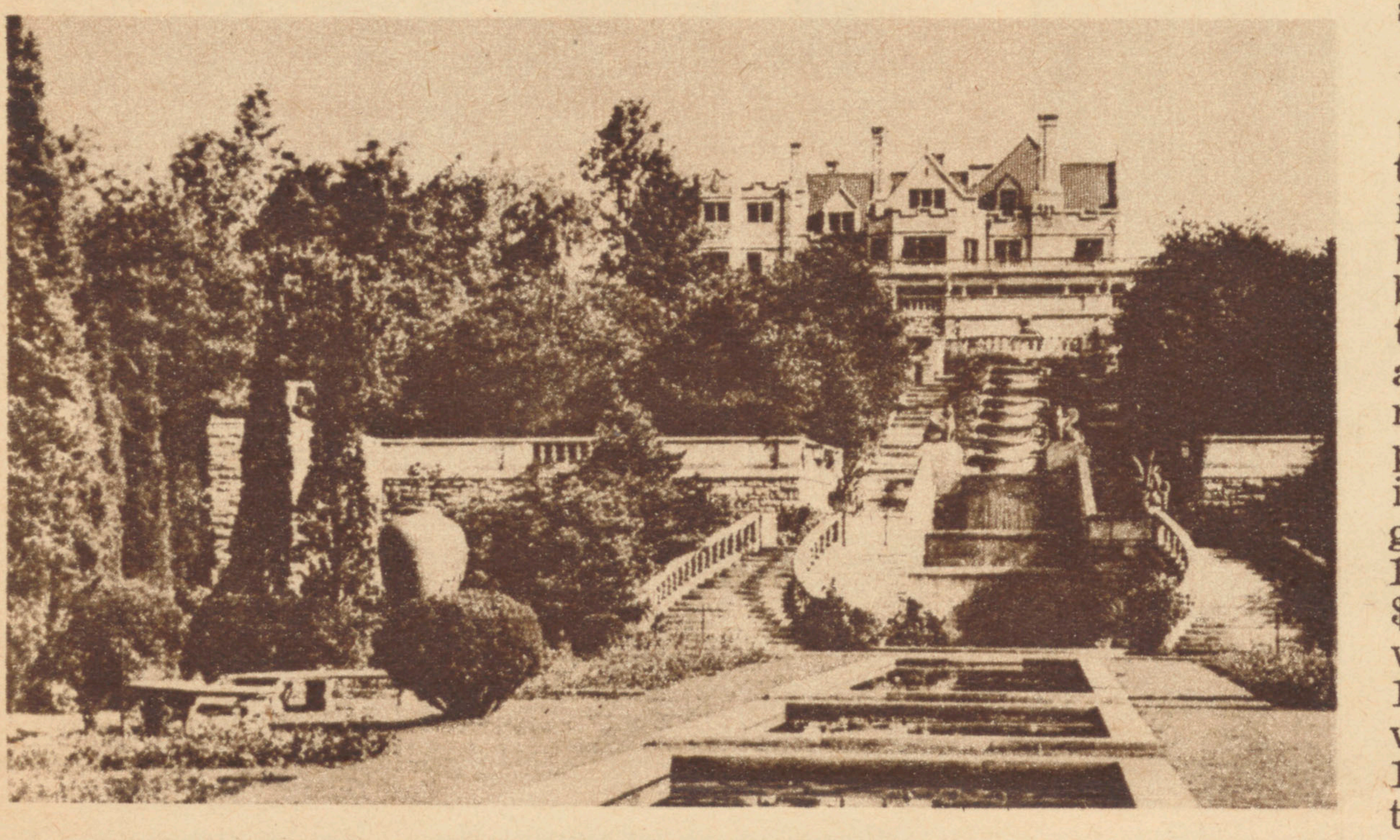
REA will not make the loan if the project does not appear economically feasible and self-sustaining. Under REA plans, sturdy lines can be built in most localities at a cost of about $1,000 per mile, on the basis of three customers per mile. When there are more customers per mile, the cost per mile will increase, but the cost per customer will decrease. Under normal conditions, with three customers per mile, REA favors a minimum charge of from $3 to $3.50 per month, to include a liberal amount of energy.

The New Deal has given the farmers of Pennsylvania an unrivalled opportunity to get electricity at nominal cost where they never had electricity before. And for those who are now served by utility companies, the REA in conjunction with the liberal Earle Administration offers them the hope of reduced electric rates.

The project at Meadville promises a new day and a New Deal for the Pennsylvania farmer. It offers him New Lamps for Old.

Steel's Share of FOOL'S GOLD

$250,000 PAINTING
That's what Mrs. B. F. Jones, of J. & L. wealth, paid for this Frans Hals in early depression days . . . a profit of "Collective bargaining."



SCHWAB'S PALACE AT LORETTO
It takes those million-dollar Bethlehem Steel incomes to support places like this.

THE profits we made in War, said President Roosevelt in his great speech on peace at Chautauqua a fortnight ago, "was fool's gold."

Everybody realizes that now. We lent money to other warring nation's to buy the products of our Big Business—then lost it back when loans were scaled down or unpaid. From that splurge of money-lending our bankers took us into South American and other bonds by the hundreds of millions—and they too folded up on us. And aside from the money we lost, there was an inestimable loss in lives, loss of the finest flower of our manhood, loss in human and cultural values.

Everyone now realizes that war money is fool's gold—everyone but the munitions manufacturers, who are paid on the line with the money we lend their buyers.

Profits made in war are fool's gold.

And profits made in peace are fool's gold too—if those profits reach only the upper crust of the country's people, instead of being distributed to all the people. Profits are fool's gold if the workers do not get their share.

Probably no industry has taken a bigger share of this fool's gold, in war or peace, than the steel industry.

Since the days of Carnegie, steel has made hundreds of millionaires and multi-millionaires. And it has left millions of workers pauperized.

This story is going to be full of facts.

Facts are fascinating because they tell us a true story.

Here is the true story of Steel's share of fool's gold, Wartime and boomtime.

War was great for the steel companies.

In 1916 the steel business in the United States was 240 percent above the pre-war level. Profits of the steel companies were $200,000,000 in 1915, then jumped to $1,035,000,000 in 1917. When the Government stepped in with regulations to keep the steel companies, which furnished war materials, from bankrupting us with high prices, profits slumped again to $820,000,000 in 1918.

Nonetheless, in the years from 1914 to 1918 Bethlehem Steel Corporation made a net profit of $110,198,000. United States Steel made a net profit of $895,606,000. All steel companies wallowed in profits during the War.

Yet in 1919, according to Government figures, the average annual pay for skilled labor in steel was $2,749; for semi-skilled labor, $1,952; and for unskilled labor, $1,466. At the same time the minimum comfort level was $2,024. While the companies were making huge profits, 72 percent of unskilled labor in steel was below the minimum comfort level, and 38 percent was below the subsistence level.

Prices. According to the War Industries Board's history of prices during the War, the peak of prices was reached in July, 1917—a peak never before attained. Prices did not begin to soar noticeably until the summer of 1915, a year after war was declared. Connellsville coke, used in making pig iron, sold at $1.67 per ton in September, 1915, and had gone to $12.25 per ton by July, 1917. Basic pig iron, selling at $12.59 per ton in June, 1915, was $52.50 per ton in July, 1917. Bessemer steel billets were $19.50 per ton in June, 1915, and soared to $95 per ton in July, 1917. Steel tank plates started at $1.22 per cwt. in July, 1915, and went to $9 per hundredweight in July, 1917. Steel as a whole was 270 percent above pre-war level in July, 1917, while all other commodities were only 89 percent above their pre-war level. The steel moguls were cashing in.

ERNEST TENER WEIR
Far from his dark Weirton he suns himself at his tax-free Bermuda home.

Naturally, as steel prices advanced, steel profits rolled in. Here are what some companies made during Wartime and boomtime:

U. S. Steel of course lead all the rest so far as profits went. Its earnings were more than a billion and a half dollars. Its net profit for the years 1914 to 1918 were $895,606,000. U. S. Steel's percentage of profit on total investment was not so large as that of the other companies, because of its cumbersome financial and operating structure. But as the biggest company, it earned the most fabulous profits. In the 35 years since it was founded, this company has made total net profits of $3,910,000,000. It piled up huge fortunes for the financial sharks who watered its stock when the company was founded. It has been one of the mainstays of the House of Morgan's dominance of the U. S. financial scene.

$895,606,000 net War profit while steel workers slaved at below minimum comfort wages. A pretty picture in the Land of Plenty.

Bethlehem Steel earned in 1915, $24,700,000; in 1916, $61,700,000; in 1917, $54,000,000; in 1918, $57,200,000, and in 1919, $37,500,000. During the last three war years it earned, in percentage on its 8 percent preferred stock, 196.5 percent. From 1915 to 1919 it earned on its 7 percent preferred, 761.3 percent. It earned 480.8 percent on its common during those same years.

Meantime only the luckiest of the steel workers were above the minimum comfort level of living. Many of them were below the minimum subsistence level.

From 1911 to 1931 Bethlehem Steel paid $37,000,000 in bonuses to a handful of officers. During that time President Eugene C. Grace averaged $814,993 a year. From 1911 to 1928 some 12 of the executives got $31,000,000. During that same period common stockholders, the "owners" of the business, got $44,000,000.

These bonuses given on a sliding scale, were the idea of Charles Michael Schwab, founder of Bethlehem Steel. Fourteen or fifteen men at the most share the excess. When net earnings go over $36,000,000 a year, they get 8 percent. From 1925 to 1930 Eugene Grace got $5,431,684 in bonuses, plus $60,000 for five years' salary.

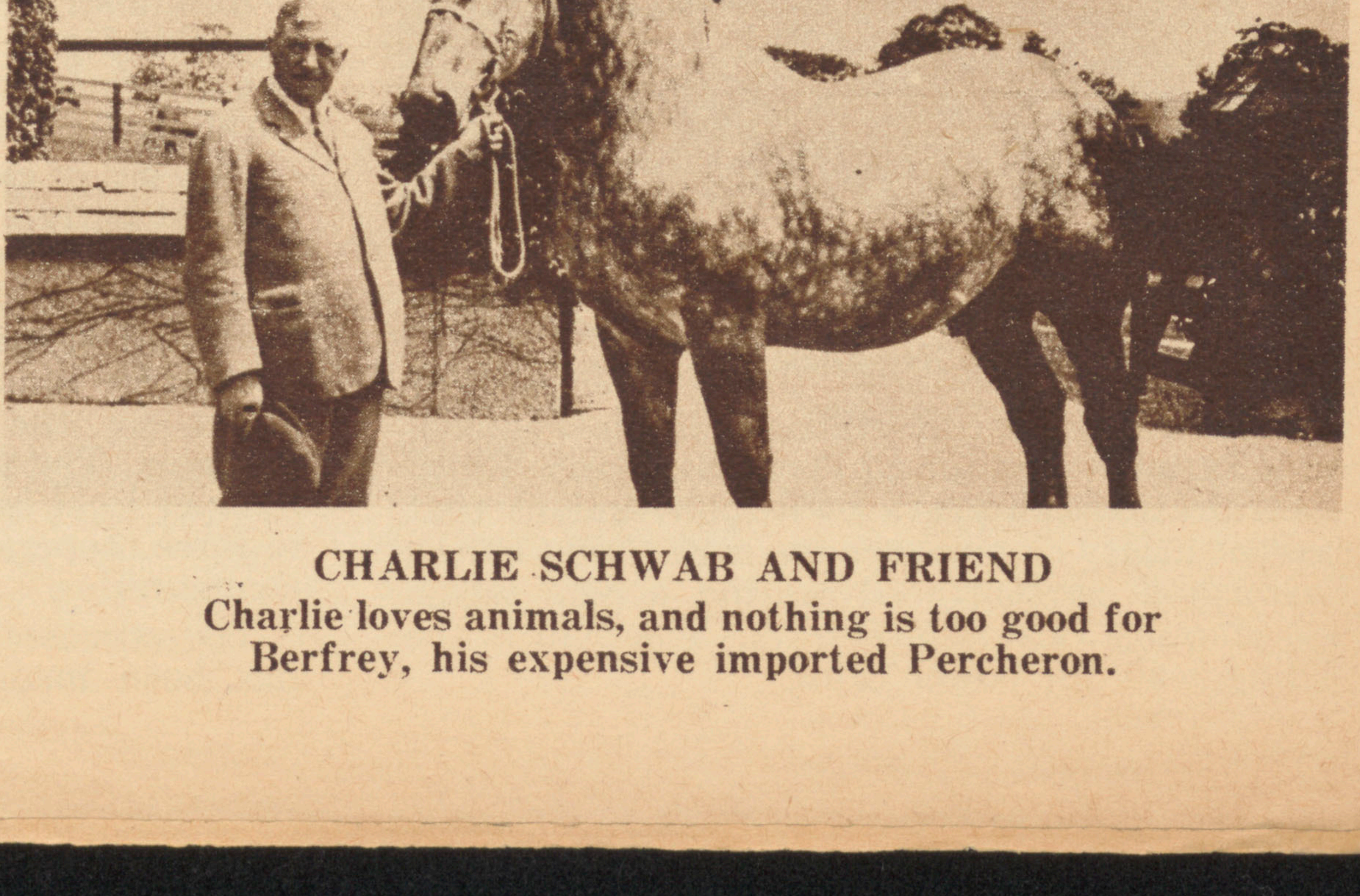
In 1934 Founder Charlie Schwab got $250,000 salary from Bethlehem. In 1935 he got $203,332. In 1934 and 1935 Eugene Grace got $180,000.

Meantime the average wage of the unskilled laborer in the steel mills is less than $25 a week.

Republic Iron & Steel Co., from 1915 to 1919, earned $314,500,000. Expressed in percentage, during those years it earned 176.34 percent on its preferred stock, and 113.18 percent on its common.

In 1935 its President Tom Mercer Girdler got $129,372; his Vice President R. J. Wysor got $64,692, and his Vice President Myron A. Wick, $51,744.

American Rolling Mills earned, from 1915 to 1918, $18,213,000. Percentages: 932.1 percent on its preferred stock, and 121.7 percent on its common.



CHARLIE SCHWAB AND FRIEND
Charlie loves animals, and nothing is too good for Berfrey, his expensive imported Percheron.

How Steel Has Earned Huge Profits, Wartime and Boom-time, While Its Workers Lived on the Bare Edge of Minimum Comfort and No Security.

In 1935 George M. Verity got $63,000 salary as chairman of American Rolling Mill's board. In 1934 he got $54,000 as its president.

Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., whose company town, Aliquippa, is known as the "Siberia of labor," and whose publicity man and lobbyist is William Mossman, Alfred Mossman Landon's uncle, is a family-owned company which did not report its War earnings to the business reference manuals. But that its Wartime earnings were huge may be judged from the fact that in 1929 it made $20,848,748.

But from J. & L.'s own figures we know that in 1934 it had 22,793 employes, and paid out $24,397,912 in wages. This figures out to an average annual wage for **all** employes of $1,070. But when you take from that the $250,000 per-year contract of its late president, George Gordon Crawford, the $49,009-per-year salary of its Board Chairman George McCully Laughlin, Jr., and similar salaries paid to its other topflight executives, you see that the real average annual wage of its laborers was far below $1,070 per year. It is interesting to note that during the early years of the depression, while J. & L. employes were being thrown into the breadlines, Mrs. Benjamin Franklin Jones, Jr., was able to purchase an Old Master, a painting of a man by Frans Hals, for $250,000. The result of "collective bargaining!"

J. P. MORGAN'S SWANK YACHT "CORSAIR"
It takes money to own one of the world's finest yachts, but as banker for U. S. Steel, Morgan got plenty.

MR. MORGAN HIMSELF
While steel-workers clamor for a decent living, Mr. Morgan goes cruising.

Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. made $75,600,000 in the three years from 1917 to 1919. It paid an 8 percent cash dividend every year from 1910 to 1916. In 1917 and 1918 it paid an 8 percent extra dividend, then a 12 percent extra; in 1919 it paid another 12 percent extra dividend.

Inland Steel Co., from 1915 to 1919, made $58,400,000. Expressed in percentage, it earned 226 percent on its stock during those five years.

In 1934 Chairman Leopold E. Block got $48,750 in salary, and in 1935, $60,000. Identical salaries were paid to Inland's President Philip D. Block.

Wheeling Steel & Iron Co., earned $18,800,000 in the four years from 1916 to 1919. That means that its earnings were 218.3 percent.

Crucible Steel Company of America earned $54,100,000 in the five years from 1915 to 1919; and made 205.9 percent on its preferred stock. Midvale Steel & Ordnance Company earned $180,300,000 from 1916 to 1919. Its subsidiary, Cambria Steel Company, earned $71,000,000. or 153.27 percent on its stock, from 1915 to 1919.

The Rich Gravy. While the big steel companies naturally piled up the most immense fortunes during the War, the smaller companies made enormously greater earnings in proportion to their investment. Some of the hugest percentages on investment were earned by these companies. For instance, Detroit Steel Products Co., in the years from 1915 to 1919, earned 990.4 percent on its preferred stock, and 298.4 percent on its common. In 1917 it paid a 7 percent dividend and an 18 percent extra. In 1918 it paid a 7 percent cash dividend, a 5 percent Liberty bond dividend, and a 10 percent stock dividend.

Little Carbon Steel Company of Pittsburgh, during the four war years from 1916 to 1919, earned the following percentages: On its first preferred, 1,160.8 percent; on its second preferred, 376.5 percent; on its common, 176.1 percent. It was bettered by Eastern Steel Company of Pottsville, which in one year alone, 1916, earned 983.5 percent on its second preferred. Its earnings during the four years from 1916 to 1919: on its first preferred, 342.5 percent; on its second preferred, 2,478.8 percent; on its common, 130.1 percent.

One steel mill reported that during the war years it earned 290,999 percent on its capital stock. Unfortunately We the People has been unable to track down the name of the paragon among War profiteers.

Fool's gold! For remember that during these flush and frantic years, when being a patriot meant getting your lungs burned out with poison gas, or your bowels ripped open with shrapnel—or else profits that you had never dreamed of earning—depending on whether you were a fighting patriot or a manufacturing patriot—the laborer in the steel mills, the mills that produced this flood of fool's gold, was living below the minimum comfort level. Many a laborer was living below the minimum subsistence level. In other words, he was a coolie working below the sub-standard scale which was supposed necessary to maintain a human family's life.

Today steel labor is again demanding a decent living, as it did in the flush 1919 years, when the great drive to organize the steel industry was squeezed to death between the rolls of economic royalism and the petty bickerings of the craft unions which half-heartedly backed the steel drive.

Today again steel labor has to demand a decent living wage for itself—while the steel royalists maintain their stables of $160,000-a-year presidents and vice presidents, their occasional $225,000-a-year men.

Labor is demanding its right to collective bargaining.

It is demanding only what the steel royalists themselves have long exercised.

For how else did they get the $250,000 paintings, the million-dollar yachts and homes you see on this page, the expensive luxuries they enjoy—save by collective bargaining?

Steel's collective bargaining power has lain in monopolistic price systems; in rigid control that drove prices up as the members of the Steel Royalists' Bargaining Society—the American Iron & Steel Institute—chose.

It is notorious that steel bids submitted on government jobs, for example, do not vary by the thousandth of a cent. Steel has exercised its collective bargaining power to keep prices in line—and to keep profits rolling in.

American steel labor does not ask for $250,000 paintings. It does not ask for yachts. It does not ask for estates.

The average man does not want these things. He would not know what to do with them if he had them. He doesn't want to clutter up his simple enjoyment of life with useless luxuries.

But he does ask a decent living. He does ask for money to feed and clothe his children properly. To give them a decent education. To protect himself from accident and disease. To assure him a comfortable old age.

All steel labor asks is security and a decent American standard of living.

And surely, as John Lewis says, he is either a madman or a fool who will deny that to labor.

God forbid that the steel masters should be so blind as to drive labor out with lockouts, to harry them into strikes, to follow steel's old course of answering demands with bullets and of writing itself into the black with the red blood of the workers.

These things would be shameful. They would be dangerous. They would be ruinous, for a time.

But it would be far more shameful, far more dangerous to the well-being of all of us, far more ruinous to this country's future, should steel insist on maintaining labor in economic serfdom.

For our welfare is inter-dependent. We cannot progress half slave and half free—half economically free, half in economic slavery.

There can be no masters and men in the sweep of American history, in the American way. We must all be peers, else we perish.

LABOR DAY RECALLS THAT PENNSYLVANIA IS CRADLE OF TRADE UNIONS

"This is Labor Day In Earnest," Said a Spectator at the First Labor Day Parade in New York, 1882

Shoemakers' Conspiracy Trials Recall Present-Day Conflict, With Courts Being Used By Tories to Beat Down Rights of Labor

ON September 5, 1882, one Robert Price of Lonaconing, Maryland, remarked to Richard Griffiths, the general worthy foreman of the Knights of Labor, as the units of the Central Labor Union passed the reviewing stand in New York: "This is Labor Day in earnest, Uncle Dick."

Thereafter, the event was always referred to as "Labor Day."

Several years later, George R. Lloyd, a Knight of Labor, offered a resolution declaring the first Monday in September to be Labor Day.

Subsequently steps were taken to secure an enactment that would make Labor Day, a legal holiday. Five years passed, however, before the first Monday in September was set aside in any state. Pennsylvania passed the law in 1889.

While the idea of Labor Day did not originate in Pennsylvania, the Knights of Labor did in 1869.

Not only the Knights of Labor but many other organizations of master craftsmen and of workmen were created in Pennsylvania from the first quarter of the eighteenth century onwards. These companies varied in type to meet existing conditions. A consideration of these societies really gives a history of labor in the state and the nation.

For example, the first movement in the building trades was the "Carpenter's Company" which was founded at Philadelphia in 1724. This group was more in the nature of the medieval guild to maintain high standards of craftsmanship but it also included the ideas "that the workmen should have a fair recompense for their labour."

The "Carpenter's Company" lent their hall to the members of the First Continental Congress.

On the morning of another September 5, that of 1774, a brave company with George Washington and Patrick Henry as leaders marched to Carpenter's Hall.

The men forming the Carpenter's Company were, of course, aware that they were in danger of losing their property through confiscation since the Governor appointed by the British King still sat in the State House.

In Carpenter's Hall, the Declaration of Rights was adopted. Here the Non-Importation Agreement was made.

This agreement was an impetus to American manufacturers. However, at the end of the war manufacturers suffered a sudden check because of the enormous importations which followed peace.

Mechanics and tradesmen made common cause to resist the invaders. The slogans "patronise home industry" and "protect infant industry" were used. Propaganda, not unlike, our own type was utilized. Public men were enlisted to pledge themselves to the use of domestic goods..

"The manufacturing interests" David Saposs says, "were fully aware of the shortcomings of these educational efforts. They early turned to the government for relief and protection. The Confederacy being powerless, they petitioned the state governments, and they responded readily. But while state tariffs interfered with the manufacturers in their wholesale markets, a national tariff would not hamper them and would still have the desired effect of restraining foreign competition.

"Manufacturers, therefore, took up the agitation for a Federal Constitution as the panacea that would remove the ills from which they were suffering."

In all of these movements for patronising home industry and for the adoption of a Federal Constitution, journeymen were united with the masters.

"The employer was not yet a capitalist, and the notion of interest and profit on capital had as yet little or no place in industry," Saploss points out. "A 'manufacturer' was literally a 'hand worker,' functioning indeed as merchant but not as capitalist. Thus, protection of the manufacturer was identical with protection of the wage-earner."

The first strike, however, in the building trades occurred during this period. The place was Philadelphia, the time, 1791, and the strikers, the Journeymen Carpenters of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia.

The journeymen carpenters complained not only of the wages being reduced to a low ebb but of the contemporary custom of working from sun-up to sun-down. They, in short, demanded a twelve-hour day from six of the morning until six of the evening.

The master carpenters' retort indicates that they were not capitalists earning a profit on their investment but were small contractors whose profits depended on the cost of labor. The real "employers" avowed the master carpenters were the landowners who financed the building operations. Thus the master carpenters in 1791 were in the same position as that which in manufacturing industries came to be called the "sweating system," a characteristic of the merchant-capitalist system that was to follow.

"The period from the time of George Washington to that of Andrew Jackson" according to David Saposs, "contains the efforts of mechanics to keep control of their business and to ward off the inevitable control by the outside capitalist. Not until the decade of the thirties in the nineteenth century did financial control of production pass into the hands of those who came into the industry from the outside as mere middlemen, or merchant-capitalists."

During this period the mechanics were busy organizing societies which encouraged inventions, education, and activities for mutual benefits.

Benjamin Franklin organized the Journeyman Printers into a benefit society and held the meetings in his own home.

At his death in 1790, the practical Franklin bequeathed one thousand pounds sterling for the purpose of lending "to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the city, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures," that they might set up their business.

Benjamin Franklin explained the bequest: "Having myself been bred to a manual art, printing, in my native town, and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia, by kind loans of money from two friends there, which was the foundation of my fortune, and of all the utility in life that may be ascribed to me: I wish to be useful even after my death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men, that may be serviceable to their country."

Franklin, in common with other patriotic men, had attempted to provide initial capital for the needy mechanic, "to encourage industry through premiums, bounties, and other privileges, to reduce the cost of manufacture and improve the quality through mechanical invention and industrial education, to educate the American public and to give preference to 'American Manufacturers'."

They soon found out that some plan for systematic financing and for marketing the finished products must be evolved.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, societies were founded to finance mechanics, to supply raw material, and to advance money on manufactured products deposited in the warehouses of the societies.

In 1789, a typical one was founded by Tench Cox as "the Pennsylvania Society for the encouragement of manufacturers and the useful arts." In this case, two hundred pounds was lent to John Hewson, calico-printer, and the Society established its own factory.

"Mechanics also organized marketing warehouses on their own initiative," according to Saposs. "The mechanics and manufacturers of Pittsburgh, which was in 1819 essentially a manufacturing center, supplying to a great extent, the Western country with the products of home industry, organized the Pittsburgh and Vicinity Manufacturing Association to market their wares collectively.

The list of commodities for sale is a catalogue of the needs of the pioneers in Western Pennsylvania. Axes, adzes, and augers, balance patent, bellows, smith brushes, buttons, bridle bits and bridles, blank books, biscuit and crewets, chairs and cabinet ware, cutlery, coffee mills, domestic cloth and cord, cassinet and shawls, drawing chairs, edged tools, furniture mounting, grind-stones, window glass, gun barrels, hackles, hatchets, and hose, hammers, hats, bars and rolled iron, nails, patent plows and mould boards, planes, paper, stirrup irons, bridle mounting, shot, men's and women's saddles, scale beams, steelyards, saw-mill irons, soap, shovel and tongs, tobacco, tin ware, copper and iron tea-kettles, tacks and springs, coach, gig and riding whips, rectified and common whiskey, waffle irons, and wire work.

Money being scarce, the Pittsburgh association accepted in payment country produce, iron, lead, wool, cotton, sugar, slat, whiskey, bacon, hogs, lard, butter, cheese, flax-seed oil, hogs bristles, linen, yarn, and rags.

The Pittsburgh Manufacturers' Association declared a ten per cent dividend annually.

Smaller producers established co-operative retail stores on the same plan as the Pittsburgh wholesale co-operative.

However, the merchant-capitalist was well on his way to control before the small producer was aware that he was soon to be dispossessed of his freedom as a producer to be reduced to a worker in the employment of the merchant-capitalist.

The merchant-capitalist to meet competition was forced to cut prices on his goods and to take greater risk in extending credit. He had also to meet the problem of increased marketing expenses and interest on his capital with sufficient profit for himself. On the other hand bank loans were more accessible to him than to the mechanic and through his greater purchasing power he secured his raw materials at lower prices than the small manufacturer could buy his.

Labor-saving machinery had not yet been introduced. Therefore, he reduced the cost of labor by setting up his own warehouse and employing directly skilled workers as pattern makers or cutters to prepare the raw material. Then he placed this material with home-workers or small manufacturers and paid the unskilled workers on a piece-rate basis. Thus entire families were set to work.

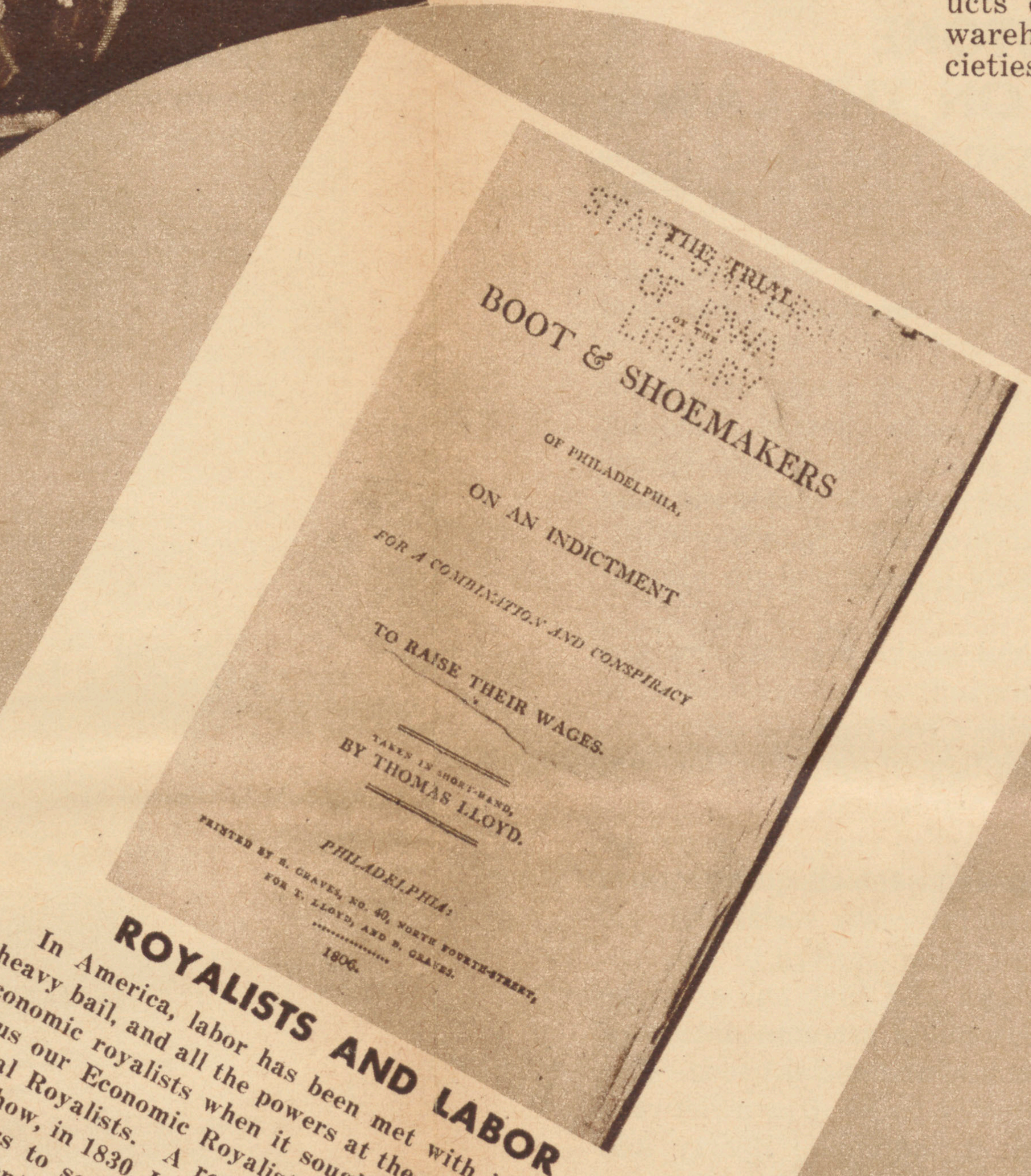
The consequence was that wages were reduced while effort was increased. Profits were "sweated" out of labor.

"The origin of trade unions can, in many cases," declares Saposs, "be definitely traced to the encroachments of the merchant-capitalist upon the standard of life of the mechanics. The early grievances of the trade unionists were based on the sweatshop practices injected by him.

"To offset his encroachments the workingmen demanded a minimum wage below which none was to work irrespective of the quality of his product. Those who did better work could demand higher wages. To further safeguard their standard of life they also demanded a strict observance of apprenticeship rules, which would automatically eliminate the competition of woman, child, unskilled, and convict labor.

"It was not, as many believe, the lack of opportunity to become independent producers that actuated the mechanics to form trade unions. On the contrary it seems that their only motive

(Continued on Page 14)



THE TRIAL OF THE BOOT & SHOEMAKERS OF PHILADELPHIA, ON AN INDICTMENT FOR A COMBINATION AND CONSPIRACY TO RAISE THEIR WAGES.

TAKEN IN SHORT-HAND, BY THOMAS LLOYD.

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1806.

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ROYALISTS AND LABOR

In America, labor has been met with injunctions, heavy bail, and all the powers at the command of the economic royalists when it sought to advance itself. Thus our Economic Royalists compare with the Imperial Royalists. A recent book on Queen Victoria tells how, in 1830, Lord Melbourne sent the Tolpuddle martyrs to seven years imprisonment in the penal settlements for demanding a raise of a shilling (about 25c) a week. How our Economic Royalists would love to have the same power.

The American Declaration of Rights was Adopted in Carpenter's Hall, a Philadelphia Labor Hall

We the People
Trade Mark Registered
A Magazine for Pennsylvanians

REED McROBERTS . . . Editor

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SAPS . . . JUST SAPS

ON the question—"What makes Communism?"—there are two leading schools of thought in this country, as we look around and see Communism on the make in every country except the United States and the British Empire.

One school of thought says Communism upsurges in a country when wealth becomes too unevenly distributed. Millions of people see a few people enjoying the pleasures and security which great hoards of wealth can give—and those millions know that they and their wives and children have few pleasures and no security.

This school of thought, which we believe is the realistic school, says it isn't the agitators which cause Communism, but the feeling that you have been gypped out of the good things of life in a world which is productive and fertile enough to provide a reasonable amount of those good things for everybody.

The other school of thought, led by Messrs. Hearst, Smith, Mills, Mellon, Hoover and the Messrs. du Pont, has a different theory. This theory is that everything is lovely—workers all at work, capitalist enterprise raising everybody's standard of living, rich men harvesting the riches they deserve and poor men gradually getting rich—when along comes some Communist agitator and stirs up the lower passions of greed and class hatred among the poor people.

We consider this second school of thought the Sap school. Mr. Landon has lately been attending classes regularly in this school, and has earned himself the title of Little Sap Landon.

15% of Us on Relief

The sappiness of the Hearst-Landon school of thought is vividly spotlighted by the WPA's latest report of its activities, released day before yesterday.

When the WPA began to shift people from general home relief to work relief in the Spring of 1935, 15% of all the people in the United States were on some kind of relief. Roll that figure, 15%, around in your head for a moment. It means one-seventh—one out of every seven men, women and children in this country dependent for food and shelter and clothing on the other six, because there was not work enough to afford paying jobs for the breadwinners of that one-seventh of the population.

There must have been more than one-seventh of the population on relief or badly in need of relief when President Roosevelt took office in March, 1933. There is no way of telling accurately what that figure was then, because in those days relief was a local-community matter, Mr. Hoover having firmly kept Washington's hands off.

Savior of Capitalism

So everything was **not** lovely in this country when President Roosevelt took office. Everything in this country was wrong, dislocated, out of joint. And as a result, this country was heading for some kind of radicalism. Remember the foreclosure riots, the milk riots, the breadlines, the bank failures, etc.? This was happening under the sit-on-the-lid policies of Herbert Hoover.

The man who stalled off bad trouble in this country was President Roosevelt, a believer in the profit system as the best system ever devised for spurring people to work and produce.

Mr. Roosevelt knew that he had to feed, clothe and shelter this 15% of the American people that was without food, clothing and shelter. He had to do this or face violence, perhaps revolution. Fifteen percent of our people would not starve cheerfully and contentedly, even if there were no Communist agitators.

He fed them, clothed them, sheltered them, in part by raising taxes and in part by borrowing money. The multi-millionaires—the ten men with over $100,000,000 apiece—are all now squawking because Roosevelt is feeding 15% of the American people, who otherwise might starve, but wouldn't starve until after they had fought.

That's why we say these reactionaires, who now want to put a small-scale Hoover into the White House, are saps.—**An editorial in the New York Daily News, which has the largest circulation of any newspaper in America.**

MR. LANDON MADE A SPEECH

MR. LANDON made a speech at West Middlesex, Pa., last week. It reminded us of Cal Coolidge's famous remark on the Sunday sermon.

His wife asked him what the preacher had talked on.

"He preached about sin," said Cal. "What did he say about it," asked Mrs. Coolidge. "He was against it," said Cal.

Mr. Landon's previous pronouncements of the campaign have been vague, they have been general, they have been inconclusive. They have not given us any idea of what Mr. Landon really thinks about issues—or whether he has any opinion on the important questions of the day, aside from the opinions held by his sponsor, Mr. Hearst, or by Andy Mellon, Joe Grundy, and Sun-oil Pew.

Last week's speech at West Middlesex opened Mr. Landon's campaign for the important votes of the East. Millions of workers live in Pennsylvania. Millions of middle-class people live here, along with the fanciest collection of millionaires you can find in the U. S.

What did Mr. Landon have to tell us on the important issues of the campaign?

Mr. Landon was for the home.

Mr. Landon was for the "American way"—without telling us what he considers the American way.

Mr. Landon was against unemployment. He said that "the remedy for unemployment is a real job at good wages." He failed to say anything about the conditions of that job, or how to get it, or what he considered good wages. He didn't even commit himself that far.

We expect that when the campaign really begins to sizzle Mr. Landon will tackle in one of his speeches a really hot political subject, like whether or not he favors mother love.

* * *

Mr. Landon's speech at West Middlesex had no real significance, except in what he did not say.

This fustiness, the claptrap, this vagueness of his is no more than a cloak for the real issue—that the economic royalists hope to take over power again through Landon.

It was significant company that Landon had with him on the platform at West Middlesex.

TO OUR READERS

We the People will be glad to print letters of interest from its readers. You are bound to have first-hand experience that others do not have, but will be glad to share. Write about your jobs, about your hobbies. Write about conditions as you know them, basing your letters on facts, not on unsupported opinions. People are interesting to other people. Write about yourselves.

We the People is also open to receive manuscripts from its readers—articles on little-known historical data, on odd, out-of-the-way business, on interesting facts of Pennsylvania life. It will pay for manuscripts it uses. We the People assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts.

He was introduced by M. Harvey Taylor, the Pennsylvania GOP State Chairman, who is a stooge for Joe Grundy of Bristol, and whom Grundy personally picked for his job.

On the same platform sat John M. Flynn, president of Joe Grundy's Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association, which has taken a leading hand in the slaughter of all liberal legislation in the State.

And also on the platform was the Old Master, Joe Grundy himself, Baron of Bristol, Sultan of Sweatshops, Boss of Bucks, and ex-Senator Reject from Pennsylvania.

They are the gang who are backing Landon in Pennsylvania — the unholy quadrumvirate — Grundy, Mellon, Pew and Weir.

Alf Landon returned to the town where he was born as the local boy who made good. He was riding the Sacred Elephant with the Princes of Privilege.

JUSTICE STONE ON THE LAW

JUSTICE HARLAND FISKE STONE of the United States Supreme Court is one of the great legal minds of the country.

Last week he spoke at the Harvard Law School's tercentenary conference on the future of the common law.

We believe that there are parts of Justice Stone's speech which every person, whether legally-minded or not, should read. For his speech got down to some fundamentals which we must recognize if we are to progress. Said he:

"Man does not live by himself and for himself alone.

"There comes a point in the organization of a complex society where individuals must yield to traffic regulations, where the right to do as one will with his own must bow to zoning ordinances, or even to price-fixing regulations.

"We are coming to realize that law is not an end, but a means to an end—the adequate control and protection of those interests, social and economic, which are the special concern of Government and hence of law; and that end is to be attained through reasonable accommodation of law to changing economic and social needs.

"Just where the line is to be drawn between the appropriate field of individual liberty and right and that of Government action for the larger good is the perpetual question of constitutional law. It is necessarily a question of degree which may vary with time and place.

"The prohibitions in the Federal Constitution . . . are framed in terms of specific and more or less detailed command, and they offer relatively narrow scope for treatment otherwise. But the great constitutional guarantees and immunities of personal liberty and of property, which give rise to the most perplexing questions of constitutional law and government, are but statements of standards to be applied by the courts according to the circumstances and conditions which call for their application.

"It has become increasingly our habit to look for the formulation of legal doctrine suited to new situations not to the courts but to the Legislatures, and the primary record of the most important changes in the law in our time is to be found on the statute books.

"The result of the scientific examination of the common law in our time under the leadership of American university law schools, must convince us that there is nothing either in the spirit or the technique of common law methods of expanding and applying Judge-made law which need stand in the way of creative development of doctrines and principles adequate to all the demands which might be made upon them, and suitable to the judicial interpretation of the prohibitions of the Constitution, which will enable that instrument to operate as a workable chart of Government, responsive to social and economic conditions."

Meet Mike Dabich

W.P.A. CLASSES MEAN "OPEN SESAME" TO THOUSANDS WHO LEARN READING, WRITING, AND OTHER SKILLS AND TRADES FROM W.P.A. TEACHERS

MEET Mike Dabich, American. Mike's a working man. The gusty roar of a blast furnace is sweet music in his ears, and a well-cooked ingot is his idea of a work of art. For years he's earned his bread in the salty sweat that pops from the brow of a heater in the rolling mills.

There's just one thing that bothered Mike. Every pay day he collected his check. But he couldn't sign it.

As they are for some 250,000 other Pennsylvanians, the Three R's were a good deal of a mystery to Mike. It's pretty hard to pick up reading and writing when there's no place for a grown man to go to school.

Mike tells what happened the other week. You can see he's pleased as punch about it.

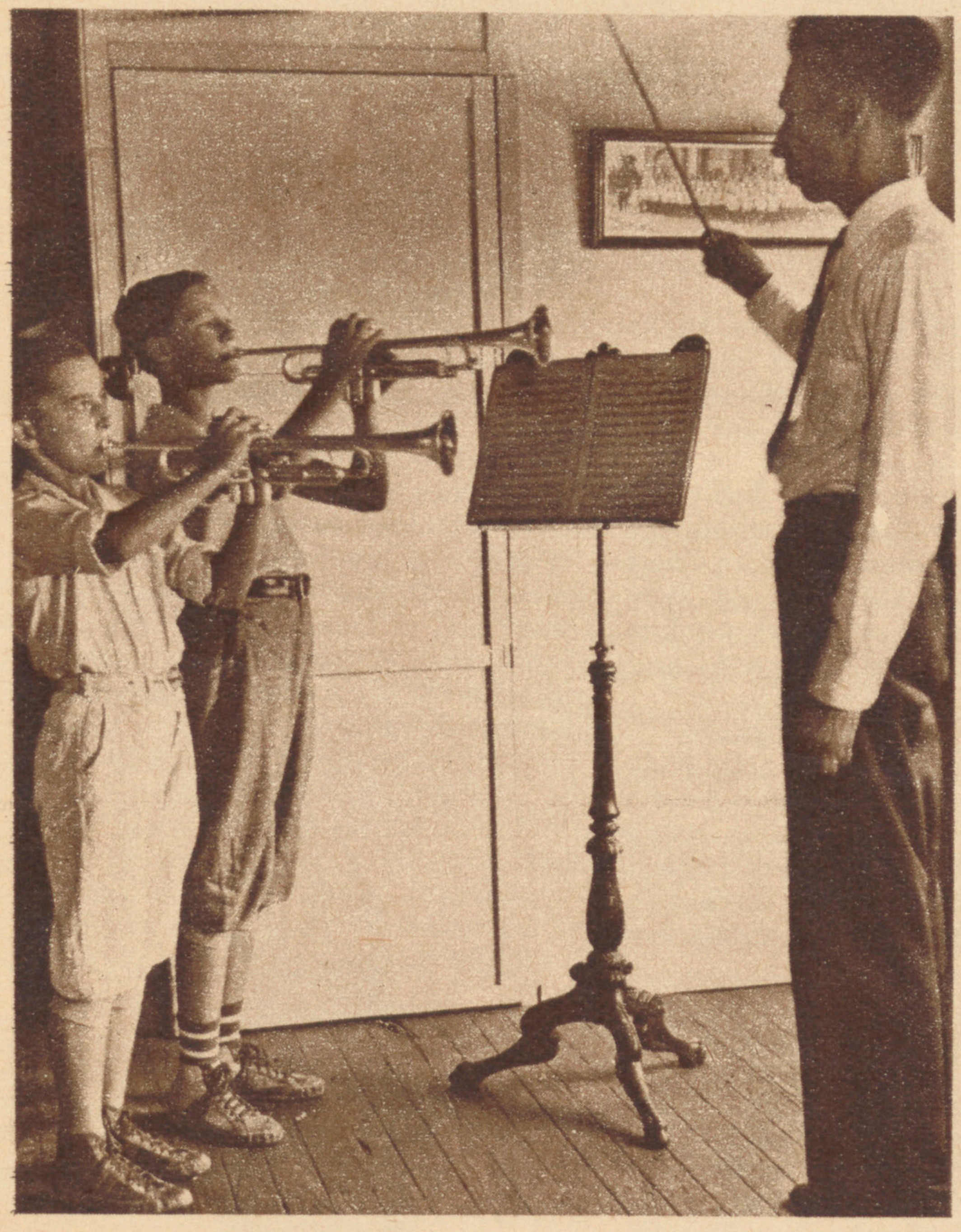
"When orders came from the office to the workers," says Mike, "I used to have to get the boss to read them to me. Then one day he saw me reading them myself, and he asked me how the devil I learned to read. He was sure surprised when I told him I had been going to the WPA school.

"It was the same way at the bank the first time I handed in my check with my own name on it. Before that the man at the bank had to sign it for me.

"So this day he asked me who had signed it for me. I said, 'I did.' And he said, 'Gee, Mike, that's wonderful'."

That's what WPA did for Mike Dabich of East Lebanon. It's doing the same job for his wife, who is also a student now.

Another case. John Wida, Czech, arrived in the land of promise in 1901, aged 27. He went to work in the steel mills at historic Cornwall, where Americans have been making iron and steel ever since Colonial days—and where shot and shell for the Revolutionary War were turned out.



THEY PLAYED ON THE AIR
After three months' instruction, these boys and WPA class members played a radio program.

THEY LEARN A TRADE
This WPA class at Lebanon teaches auto mechanics.

But despite the historic Americanism of his adopted home, somehow no one bothered to teach John Wida how to read or write his new language, or to tell him about becoming naturalized.

"All they wanted us for at Cornwall then," says John, "was to make mules out of us at the furnaces."

Today John Wila, 62, is thrilled at the prospect of becoming an American citizen. He can read and write now, too. He learned at a WPA school.

One of his classmates is Robert Johnson, a Negro who for 45 years has been unable to do anything more than puzzle over the printed page. Now WPA has helped Robert Johnson make his own declaration of independence. Says he:

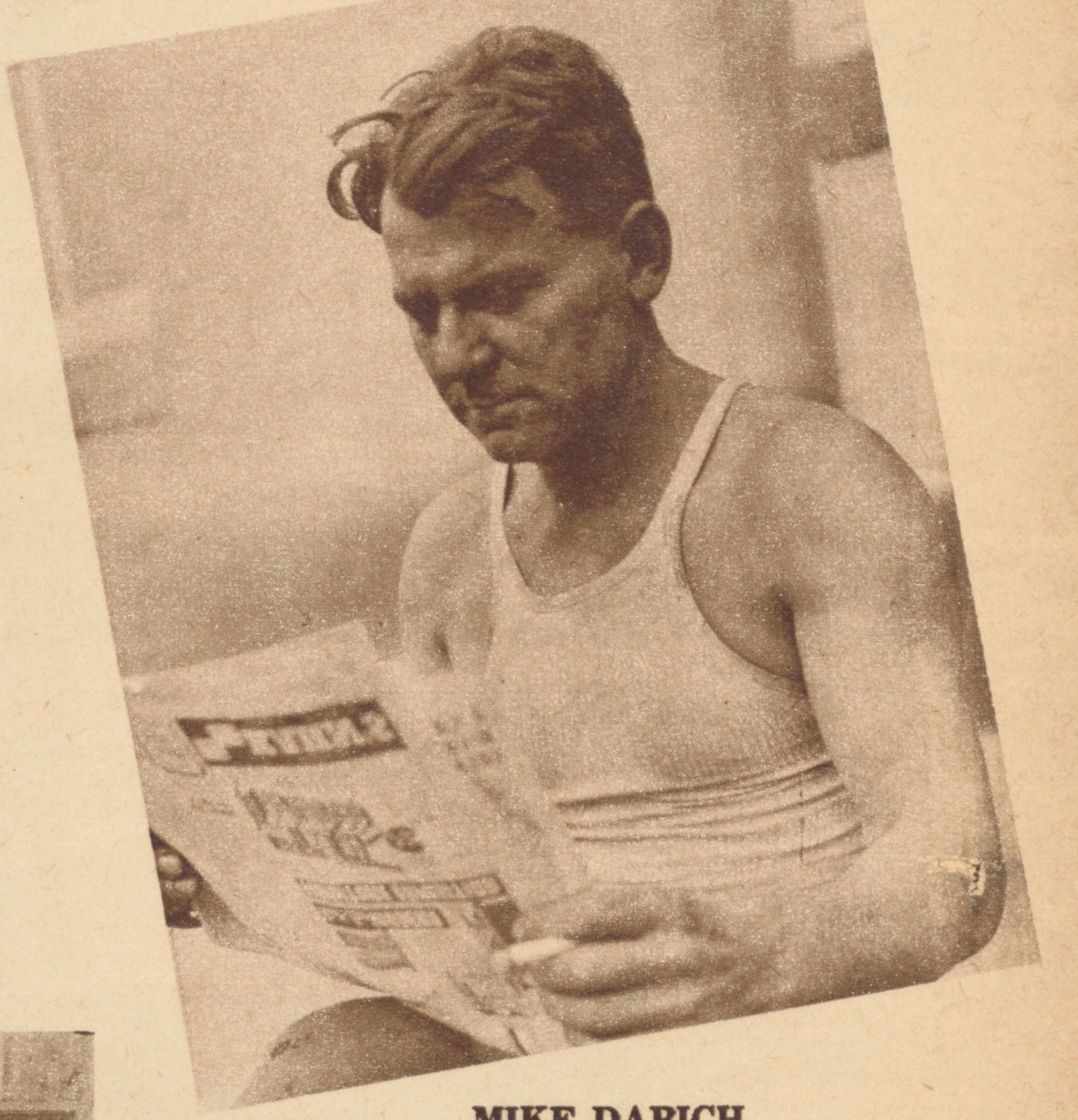
"The last time I got paid I came home with my check and my wife said to me, "Bob, if you get me the pencil I'll sign that for you."

"I said, 'No you won't. I can scribble my own name now'."

That same story could be repeated 24,000 times. Under the Pennsylvania WPA's Division of Education, directed by Charles M. Emerick, the group conducting classes for illiterates is second only to the general adult education division. Some 385 teachers conduct 1,457 classes for illiterates. Students in this group who are aliens are helped along the path of naturalization.

People are naturally eager to learn. But for many an adult, education has been hard to come by. But education gets in your blood—especially if you're getting a taste of it after long denial. Bob Johnson in Lebanon County, for instance, is so delighted with the vistas his learning to read and write have opened for him that he is determined to remain a student in WPA as long as there's a class for him to attend.

The WPA classes are far from confined to teaching illiterates. They branch into many fields—general adult education, parent education, vocational training, workers' education, freshman colleges, nursery schools, and several other projects.



MIKE DABICH
WPA taught him how to read his daily paper.

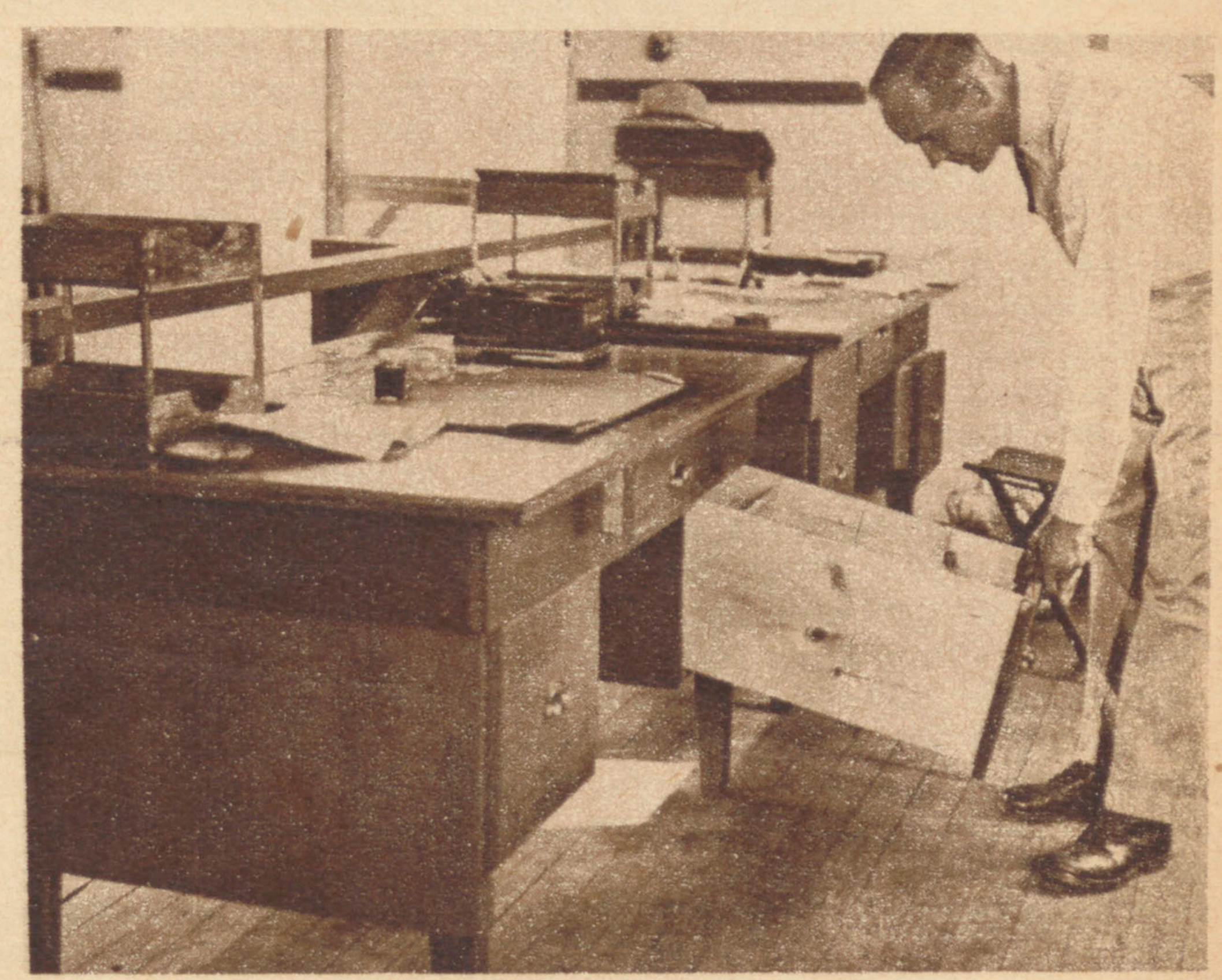
Part of a national program, the WPA classes, aside from opening the rich treasure troves of the mind to hundreds of thousands of our citizens, have a hard dollars-and-cents value.

Recently Aubrey Williams, assistant administrator of WPA under Harry Hopkins, announced that WPA has 6,602 teachers through the nation teaching 266,640 persons to read and write. The total, said he, will probably reach the half-million mark, one-eighth of the nation's four million illiterates. Total national enrollment in all WPA classes is more than 1,800,000. To teach them, WPA employs 40,500 teachers.

Says Aubrey Williams: "The value of such work is difficult to estimate. Industrial leaders have learned that the illiterate person is the poorest customer, and that any effort to raise the educational standard of people has a definite dollars-and-cents value."

In various CCC camps, for instance, young fellows whom Depression would have left physically unfit and spirit-broken are developing into sturdy, self-reliant youths who know they are doing millions of dollars worth of work for Uncle Sam. And meantime they're learning new skills from WPA teachers—attending classes in carpentry, electrical work, and other trades, to fit themselves for jobs when they leave the camps.

(Continued on Page 14)



MADE WITH WPA-TAUGHT SKILL
Instructor John Gilbert inspects desk made by colored CCC boys.

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY: NAVAL HERO

His Persistence Won Great Lakes, and Freedom, For U. S.

THE only time that an entire British fleet was ever defeated in battle was at the Battle of Lake Erie, on September 10, 1813, by Oliver Hazard Perry, twenty-eight year old commander of the American fleet.

Moreover, this encounter is now considered as one of the decisive battles in America.

Had the Americans been defeated, the course of American history might have been completely changed.

The year before the Battle of Lake Erie, General Hull had surrendered Detroit to the British in July, 1812. Thus the Territory of Michigan had come under British control. This was significant since it gave control of the Great Lakes to the British. Historians aver that it was the intention of the British to extend the Dominion of Canada. This could be done through control of the Great Lakes by thrusting along the waterways of the Allegheny, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers down to the Gulf of Mexico. The eastern United States could thus be separated from the west which the British hoped to seize as their own colony.

This policy was in line with Benjamin Franklin's famous remark when he was told of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. He said that the war of revolution was over but the war for independence had yet to be fought.

Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry was one of the patriotic Americans who fought for American independence upon the inland lakes against odds that few commanders other than General Washington had ever been obliged to face.

His family background and his remarkable training made possible the exercise of what amounted to genius in his achievement.

Oliver Hazard Perry was born August 23, 1785, at South Kingston, Rhode Island. Although of Quaker descent, his father had a distinguished career in the navy during the American Revolution. Later he was successful as a merchant man and retired to enjoy the fruits of his labor.

His enjoyment was brief, however, since trade was unsettled and it became necessary for the young American government to protect their merchant vessels.

Thus, Christophers Perry became a Captain in the navy again. He built and commanded the "General Greene," a frigate assigned to Havana to look after the trade there as well as that which passed down the straits of Bahama to the Spanish Main.

Meanwhile, Oliver Hazard Perry had decided that he also desired a naval career.

At the ripe age of 13, he received his commission to sail as a midshipman under his father's command.

The story of his voyages with his father, his experiences under various commanders in the Mediterranean: his command of the "Nautilus" when he was twenty, his service at Tripoli, his remarkable education in languages and general culture, alone make of him a unique figure.

His rapid progress in the navy was halted for a time by the loss of his ship "Revenge," which ran aground on a rocky ledge off Watch Hill in January of 1811.

At the moment everyone expected war with England. The British government was demanding the right to search American ships for deserters from the British navy. "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights!" was the battle cry and the war was declared on June 18, 1812.

Perry attempted valiantly to secure a command but his pleas were consistently ignored.

The surrender of Detroit in July of 1812 curiously enough set the train of circumstances at work that gave Oliver Hazard Perry his great opportunity.

At the surrender of Detroit, Daniel Dobbins, a lake captain of Erie, Pennsylvania, was taken prisoner by the British. Having already escaped from the British at Mackinaw, he was sentenced to die. He determined to escape again and after adventures which seemed impossible to survive he arrived at Erie. There he found that General Mead had been detailed to Erie to build a block house. The general asked Dobbins to carry the news of the disaster of Detroit to President Madison in Washington.

President Madison was indignant and fully realized the importance of controlling the Great Lakes.

Dobbins suggested that America build a fleet at Presque Isle. The lake captain was placed in charge of the work and went forth to seek ship carpenters and a shipbuilder.

The epic of Daniel Dobbins building a fleet as related by Dr. Charles J. Dutton, an authority on the life of Perry, is one of the remarkable feats of American history.

"As we look back at the building of that Erie fleet," said Dr. Dutton, "it appears to have been an insane undertaking. Every detail of the vessels had to be wrought by hand. There was not a shop or mill in the village; in fact, less than three hundred people lived there, and there were only forty-seven houses. There was not a gallon of paint or oil or a single pound of iron or copper within a hundred miles.

"Rope and sails must be brought over Indian trails from the East. True, there were a few whipsaws, and one blacksmith shop; but that was all.

"There was plenty of growing timber—nothing else.

"With his own hands Dobbins cut down the first tree. It was a great black oak, standing close to the lake front. By nightfall it had been shaped into the keel of the brig which was to be named the "Niagara." Every rib of this vessel was a natural knee. For its construction, trees forking at the proper angle were selected, so as to give a natural bend and added strength. There were no iron nails at first—in fact, very few later—and the hull was fastened with wooden pins. No seasoning of the wood was possible; time would not allow it. Trees which were standing in the morning had been fashioned into boards by night with saws and planes, and were in their places. Oakum for caulking could not be obtained, so lead was used instead."

Dobbins could not secure aid from his official superiors, Commodore Chauncey or J. D. Elliott. They were remote, indifferent and derisive.

The shipbuilders grew lonely and decamped. Dobbins pursued them and persuaded them to return. He overcame incredible obstacles to continue the work. He knew the battle would be joined at Erie with the coming of the next summer.

Meanwhile, Oliver Hazard Perry at Newport, studying the situation with an experienced eye, believed as did Daniel Dobbins that the fate of the nation would be decided on Lake Erie. Naval officials had selected Lake Ontario as the probable scene for the naval engagement.

Perry sought an appointment to Lake Erie and eventually on February 22, 1813, started on his long journey to assume his post.

During his term of idleness at Newport, he had trained his seamen and was allowed to take one hundred and fifty with him. He reached Commodore Chauncey's post at Sackett's Harbor on March 3. He had hoped to start the next day for Erie but Chauncey detained him for two weeks. Worse yet, Chauncey would not allow Perry to take the men he had brought from Newport on to Erie. Finally Perry arrived at Erie on March 27, 1813.

He knew that for the moment he was safe from attack by the British because their fleet was ice-bound at Long Point, twenty miles across the lake from Erie.

He performed prodigious tasks in getting in the men and supplies to push the work forward. Scrap iron was gathered from far and near.

Six vessels were being built including a sloop, three schooners which were launched early in May and two brigs in late May. By July 10, all the vessels were at anchor in the bay, armed, rigged and equipped.

But—Perry had no sailors.

Meanwhile, his pleas for men were ignored by Commodore Chauncey. The seamen that were supposedly sent to him were routed by way of Chauncey at Sackett's Harbor—and there the commander kept them.

Meanwhile, General Harrison waited for Perry to engage the British fleet in battle that Harrison might move to recover the West lost through Hull's surrender.

Cautious Chauncey seems to have been motivated by a belief that he would fight the British fleet on Lake Ontario and then move over to Erie and command the squadron.

The Secretary of the Navy added his orders to the muddle demanding that Perry move fast and assist General Harrison.

Perry's futile plea was answered by two details, one of seventy and another of sixty men. Few were seamen, many were ill. Thus on July 20 with the enemy fleet just a mile off shore daring him to come forth to battle, Perry could muster only 300 men when he needed 700. He had made the men drill and had given them gun practice but they seemed to him but faulty tools.

On July 31, Perry was informed that the British commander, Barclay had sailed off in the direction of Canada. He had decided to sail off to Canada to a party thinking that Perry could not get his two fighting brigs over the shallow bar and that he would return again and resume his blockade of the harbor.

With superhuman effort, working against time, and fearing the disappearance of the British was but a ruse, Perry contrived to get his ships into deep water. The fleet set sail on August 6 for Long Point.

Barclay, meanwhile, had returned but had sailed again, this time for Malden where the land forces of Proctor were encamped.

Again he set sail, this time on August 12, for Sandusky the nearest port to General Harrison's encampment.

Harrison proved completely sympathetic and sent a hundred of his Kentucky volunteers to help Perry man his ships.

Not until September 5 did Perry receive news that Barclay, the British commander, was preparing for battle. He also had information of the superiority of the British in their possession of long range guns. He knew they could simply stand off and batter his vessels to bits. Could he but engage them at close range, his heavy broadsides would prove effective.

Perry and many of his men, incidentally had suffered from fever since they embarked. He had but four hundred and sixteen well men when he set out for battle on the morning of September 10, 1813.

He gave careful instructions to the officers to engage their adversaries at close range.

Perry on his flagship the "Lawrence," with the words of the dying Lawrence, "Don't Give Up the Ship" on a flag at his masthead, received the first shot of the enemy just before noon.

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THE INSIDE STORY OF LANDON'S "HOMECOMING"

A Reporter Writes the Facts of the West Middlesex Rally . . . Telling Truths He Couldn't Tell in His Controlled Paper

Here is the inside story and the true facts of the Landon "homecoming" to West Middlesex, Pa., as told by a newspaperman who covered it. This story is a little different than the one which appeared under his famous by-line in the metropolitan paper he represents. That story was written to please his publisher without any regard to giving the readers the facts of the affair to which they are entitled by payment of their monthly subscription fees. The story that follows contains the essential elements of a news story every intellectually upright reporter likes to write but which seldom sees the light of day in that part of the Pennsylvania press that is subsidized by the G.O.P. and its component reactionary parts.

I COVERED the "homecoming" of Governor Alfred M. Landon of Kansas at West Middlesex, Pa., on August 22. Because the publisher of my paper "suggested" it, I estimated the crowd was "in excess of 100,000." My personal estimate of the size of the crowd was between 40,000 and 50,000 and that is what I would have used in my story if I were permitted to tell the truth about it. Ex-Governor Gifford Pinchot, who was seated on the platform with Landon, Ex-Senator David Reed, Joseph Grundy, et al., in a surprising burst of candor, placed the attendance at the West Middlesex meeting at between 30,000 and 40,000.

The Republican State Committee had made arrangements to handle a crowd of 100,000. Certain papers to which the G.O.P. State Committee has free and easy access announced that Governor Landon attracted between 125,000 and 150,000. Somewhere between my estimate and Pinchot's estimate is to be computed the actual attendance.

The whole affair, from the standpoint of arousing enthusiasm for a political party or for that party's nominee for President, was a terrific flop. The attendance nowhere approached the expectations of the fairest non-partisan prophet. Acres of grassy land adjoining Tam-O-Shanter Golf Course had been marked off for thousands of spaces for parked cars. Persons who leased the lands for the parking concession for the biggest day in the history of the little village, when they reckon their losses, will probably consider "Oh, Susana" a funeral dirge instead of a rousing campaign song. There was plenty of free parking space in the village, out by the golf course and in New Castle where Landon and his campaign entourage made their headquarters.

New Castle appeared to be indifferent to the professionally staged festivities. The city was well decorated but even the bunting and Landon posters provided by the G.O.P. committee failed to conceal the Roosevelt pictures that will remain in place long after Governor Landon returns with his wilted hopes to Kansas where the sunflowers wilt in the fall.

When Governor Landon's special train passed through New Castle, en route to West Middlesex, about 14 miles away, a very small crowd was at the station. The crowd was about the size and made up of the same type of curious persons who would have "gone down to the depot" to see Mary Astor, Marion Davies or any other Hearst-created celebrity wave greetings from a rear platform. Diminishing power of the controlled press was indicated by the lack of record-breaking attendance and the paucity of spontaneous enthusiasm. Despite the tremendous build-up of the G.O.P. press of the Eastern Seaboard for weeks preceding Landon's return to the village in which he was born and where he spent the first 28 days of his life, the crowds failed to turn out and the crowd that was there refused to go into paroxysms of joy or hyperbolic demonstrations of enthusiasm.

Wide World.

CANDIDATE LANDON

Reporters were bored; bosses were glum.

Because of alleged feuds among Pennsylvania's Republican leaders, every thing seemed to go wrong. The Landon special train that was to pick up the Pennsylvania newspapermen at New Castle ran by the station and the scribes had to chase it about a mile down the tracks in the direction of West Middlesex. Because the Governor was anxious to get away from West Middlesex as soon as possible after he delivered his speech, his special train left ahead of its scheduled departing time and the gentlemen of the press were left behind for the second time in the same day. They looked like a troupe of stranded minstrels as they stood on the hot, dusty tracks and watched the Landon special, air-cooled diners and club cars, wend its way around the curve towards New Castle. After about an hour's wait the newspapermen were given a lift to New Castle on the Dauphin County excursion train which, incidentally, had a couple of baggage car bars that were well stocked with refreshments that are considered illegal in Kansas.

The G.O.P.'s Presidential nominee was scheduled to hold a press conference in the ballroom of the Castleton Hotel at 4:30 Saturday afternoon. Because the press representatives were left behind in West Middlesex the conference was delayed one hour. Then it was put back until 6:30 but only a few of the reporters attended. Those who failed to attend salved their journalistic consciences with the thought that inasmuch as Mr. Landon neglected to say anything to a crowd of 30,000, 50,000—or to use the Hearst mis-estimate, 100,000, in his speech that afternoon it was unlikely he would make any announcements of great import to a group of 30 people that evening.

However, some of the more zealous members of our craft who attended what was supposed to be a conference with the press, discovered that it had developed into a listless reception with Joe Grundy, Harvey Taylor and New Castle steel company bosses and presidents of local luncheon clubs acting as hosts.

There was a buffet lunch and, in deference to the prohibition tendencies of the chief executive of a dry State, the liquid refreshments were iced tea and ginger ale. The Governor shook hands with some of the local political leaders but after several minutes he seemed to run out of conversational topics with the boys from his old home town so he and Ex-Senator Reed, Andy Mellon's lawyer, broke away from the pack and talked things over by themselves in a corner of the room.

In fairness to Mr. Landon it should be said that he is a personable gentleman, pleasant, gracious and much like the type of a citizen one might expect to be the president of the Rotary Club in Atchinson, Topeka, Emporia or any other fair-sized Kansas community. Kansas newspapermen accompanying the Governor on his Eastern trip report that he is a "regular guy," that he'll take a high ball even though he comes from a State where "taking a high ball" is still considered a penal offense.

The big papers of the East, papers like the New York Times, said that Landon's West Middlesex speech would either make or break his candidacy. Before the speech was delivered, Ex-Governor Pinchot confided to a newspaper publishing friend that "if the Republicans are to win in Pennsylvania in November they've got a lot of hard fighting ahead." Pinchot made that prediction before the speech. You should have observed the expressions on the faces of Grundy, Taylor, Joseph Pew and others of the high command of the G.O.P. in Pennsylvania after the speech had been delivered. They secretly admit that Landon's speech in West Middlesex has increased their difficulties of carrying Pennsylvania for him or any candidate on the Republican ticket. The sorrow they feel about the G.O.P.'s chances in this State this year was shared by Ex-Governor Henry Allen of Topeka and other newspapermen who missed the train from West Middlesex to New Castle.

While we of the working press are not deluding ourselves about Landon defeating Roosevelt. neither, for that matter, is Landon. On the day after election Mr. Landon will probably wish that he had missed the train that took him from Topeka to West Middlesex.

...LETTERS...

Looking for Grass

To the Editor:

Just a few lines as to reporting of manufacturing steel and tin plate. I think if these two products were reported correct at the present time they would be over 100% of their capacity. As for tin plate alone—they are working 17 turns for a week and have worked 18 turns. Now take it under Republican rule when Herby Hoover was stepping high, wide and handsome, nine turns were all they were working—and only 20 mills out of 60.

Now take the 60 mills under Democratic rule and they are all working, and 17 and 18 turns and doing this with one-fourth less men by the hour, than when the GOP was doing it.

To you voters one and all—Don't you think it a good plan to vote for the party that knows how? Also to vote for a party that treats them all alike. And not to vote for a party that favors only the selected few.

And as for Herby Hoover saying there would be chicken dinners and two autos in every garage—he only meant the selected few. And now on your journey to vote keep this one thought on your mind—that I am going to vote for the man of the hour—for the right man in the right place—and vote with one X Democratic. And let everyone keep watch for that grass growing in our streets. I don't think anyone will find it but Herby.

Please do not use my name.

Thanks for that write up you gave those robbers of U. S. Steel.

New Castle, Pa. F. P.

Answer

To the Editors:

I have been taking your great magazine since it was first published, and I look forward with interest to every copy, and I like to read it for several reasons. The first because, I believe it is sincere in its purpose of giving the reader the other side of the picture, one we cannot get from reading many of our daily papers; second, its Editors are not afraid to give us facts and figures no matter whom it hurts. And if every fair minded person who is interested in the affairs of all the people would read it, I am quite certain there would be less knocking and more boosting for the New Deal.

I would like to take this opportunity to answer to some of the critics who can see nothing but chaos in the steps the Administration has taken to end the depression.

It is common to hear and read stories to the effect that WPA is a political set-up used to intimidate voters into joining the Democratic party. I am a WPA timekeeper, and have worked on three different jobs, I have yet to hear a foreman discuss this matter with any worker, either on or off the job. It is charged that only Democrats can get Executive jobs, a recent survey of the politics of Executive employes in this county, has shown this to be false. 70% of them were registered Republicans.

They have cried Waste! Boondoggling, whenever CCC was mentioned. I would like to ask the critics one question, "have any of them ever fought a forest fire?" I have. It is great fun (?) to tramp several miles through a pathless forest to get to a fire, and when you get there to discover the fire to be too much for the few men in the crew. The CCC has built roads in every part of the State forest, and it is these roads that enable a fire Warden to get his men to the scene of the fire in a fraction of the time it used to take. And as the saying goes, everybody loses when timber burns. Some day somebody will be glad that we did something to conserve everybody's property.

We have heard much about Federal relief. They say: "Let the local authorities raise and handle it." I personally saw and experienced what was done before FERA was created. I stood in line and heard them tell us, the local funds are exhausted, we are sorry but you will have to wait until more is raised. That was very encouraging to men who were hungry and had to go home empty handed to an equally hungry wife and family.

The things I have written about are facts, and I will invite anybody to try to disprove them, and if I had time and space I would write some more for the critics to digest.

JAMES A. LYTLE.

Snydertown, Pa.

Labor Day

(Continued from Page 9)

for organizing was to protect their standard of life as skilled mechanics. Those whose chance of setting up in business for themselves was best were the first to organize into unions. Thus the early unions were composed exclusively of skilled workers like printers, shoemakers, tailors, carpenters, and so on.

"On the other hand no traces of organization can be found among the unskilled, especially the cotton-mill operatives who numbered 100,000 in 1815. This is explained by the fact that the wages of the unskilled were going up while those of the skilled were kept down by the merchant-capitalist.

"In 1784 common labourers were paid less than $4 a week, while in 1810 they were receiving close to $7 or $8 per week. At the same time the wages of skilled workers remained stationary, or actually declined, although the cost of living was constantly mounting. It was the desire to resist this pressure upon their standard of life that actuated the skilled workers to band themselves together."

It is necessary to retrace in time, the efforts of the early workers to protect themselves. Pennsylvania fathered the first continuous organization of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or advancing wages. The shoe-makers of Philadelphia organized as early as 1792 but their existence was less than a year's span.

They popped up again in 1794 as an organization in Philadelphia under the name of the Federal Society of Journeymen Cordwainers and continued as such until their trial for conspiracy in 1806.

The printers of Philadelphia also banded together in 1794 as the Typographical Society and lasted for two and a half years.

Between the years 1800 and 1805, the shoemakers and printers had organizations in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore. These two industries prior to 1818 held their organizations together between strikes. All other wage-earners only banded together during crises.

The beginnings of the trade unions were confined to the cities where they originated. We find Philadelphia and New York printers exchanging correspondence "to notify fellow printers of attempts to improve conditions of labor, so that they should not be deluded by advertisements of the employers."

Correspondence was also in order to identify "scabs."

The term "scab" was in use as early as 1806. It is said that a union man, "wrought up by the testimony of a non-union shoemaker at the Philadelphia cordwainers conspiracy trial, took occasion, without invitation from the court, to publicly define the term as 'A scab is a shelter for lice'."

The Philadelphia cordwainers conspiracy trial was the first of six criminal conspiracy cases instigated against the shoemakers.

"These prosecutions," declares Saposs, "were the first in this country in which employers invoked the aid of the courts and the law in their struggle with labor. It was brought out in the testimony that the masters financed, in part at least, the New York and Pittsburgh prosecutions."

Needless to say, the masters won out. Only one case in Baltimore was decided in favor of the journeymen.

Since Pennsylvania was the battleground of the first case in 1806, it is interesting to note the background of the situation.

"The prosecutions were conducted under the English common-law doctrine of criminal conspiracy," records David Saposs. "At the time of the first case, in 1806, a heated political controversy was going on as to whether the English common law applied in this country.

"The Federalists, who has control of the judiciary, were applying the law whenever opportunity presented itself. The Democratic Republicans, or Jeffersonians, attacked the Federalist judges and in some cases even succeeded in impeaching them.

"Consequently, when the journeymen were indicted the Democrats, especially in Philadelphia and Baltimore, defended them through their newspapers and otherwise.

"The issue was raised in all the cases, and the courts ruled in all that the common law was the law of this country. The question then arose what are illegal acts under the common law of criminal conspiracy?

"The numerous counts in the indictments on record charged two offences: one was a combination to raise wages; the other a combination to injure others.

"No doubt the object of the masters was to prevent the workingmen from combining effectively to raise their wages. Each of the trials followed upon the heels of a stubborn strike in which this was the chief demand."

The Philadelphia shoemakers addressed the public themselves in an impassioned plea: "In the constitution of this state, it is declared . . . 'that the citizens have a right in a peaceable manner to assemble together for the common good.' For fifteen years and upwards we have assembled together in a peaceable manner and for our common good, and to guard against the accidents to which industrious men are exposed to promote the happiness of the individuals of which our little community is composed, and to render service to those whom age or infirmity may have rendered incapable of labor.

"The master shoemakers, as they are called after the slavish style of Europe, but who are only the retailers of our labor, and who in truth live upon the work of our hands, are generally men of large property, to whom the suspension of business, though it is a loss, is not so great a loss as the total suspension of the means of subsistence, is to us who obtain our income from week to week.

"These masters as they are called, and who would be masters and tyrants if they could, or the law would allow them, have their associations, their meetings, and they pass their resolutions; but as they are rich and we are poor—they seem to think that we are not protected by the constitution in meeting peaceably together and pursuing our own happiness.

"They suppose they have a right to limit us at all times, and whatever may be the misfortune of society, the changes in the value of necessaries, the increase of the decrease of trade, they think they have the right to determine for us the value of our labor; but that we have no right to determine for ourselves, what we will or what we will not take in exchange for ourselves, what we will or what we will not take in exchange for our labor.

"If the association of men to regulate the price of their own labor, is to be converted into a crime, and libeled with the same reproachful terms as a design against the freedom of the nation; the prospect is a very sad one for Pennsylvania."

The prosecution urged that "the policy of permitting such associations" of journeymen to exist will result in "the increasing avarice of these men," and prove highly "prejudicial to the interests" of the community. "For it is well known that the prosperity of both depends greatly upon their manufactures." In other arguments the prosecution said unctiously that they "merely stood as the guardians of the community from imposition and rapacity." The prosecution even protested they were protecting the liberty of those who refused to join with the other journeymen in the strike.

The outcome, with the judges in Philadelphia and in Pittsburgh openly against the journeymen, has a familiar sound.

Pennsylvania fathered the first co-ordinated movement of several trades in the United States in 1827 when as a result of a strike of building trades workmen for a ten-hour day, there was created the first city central organization of wage-earners in the world—the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations.

American wage-earners at last realized the disadvantages they were forced to endure by the rule of working from "sun to sun." This, it will be remembered, was the cause of the first strike on the part of the carpenters at Philadelphia in 1791. This system, derived from agriculture, was unsuited to industry, where wages were paid by the day regardless of season. Consequently the work was all done while the working day was long as in late spring and midsummer, so the mechanics were given practically no work in winter when the "sun to sun" period was shorter.

The working hours were often up to fifteen.

Unfortunately public opinion was against the introduction of shorter working hours since all people did not suffer the winter shut-down that was customary in industry, particularly in the building trades. Opposition to the ten-hour movement was almost as bitter upon the part of the public as upon the part of the employers.

The second grievance was the state of education. The "pauper schools" were inadequate for the education of the workingmen's children to take their rightful places as informed citizens.

Thus the labor movement in Philadelphia was shortly demanding public education as one of its chief objectives.

A pamphlet widely circulated in 1827 states the case of the workingmen: "It is true in this favored nation we enjoy the inestimable blessing of 'universal suffrage,' and constituting as we everywhere do, a very great majority, we have the power to choose our own legislators, but this blessing can be of no further benefit to us than as we possess sufficient knowledge to make a proper use of it.

"It will be an instrument of unlimited good to the great mass of the people when they shall possess that degree of intelligence which will enable them to direct it for their own benefit; but at present this very blessing is suffered, through our want of information, to be directed against our prosperity and welfare by individuals whose interest is at variance with ours."

The establishment of a FREE PRESS is urged in every town and city and also creating a library open every evening. Thus Philadelphia's "Mechanics' Library Company" was established and this organization in turn published the Mechanics' Free Press, the first labor paper in the United States.

Out of the ten-hour movement inaugurated in Philadelphia grew the Workingmen's Party which broke up during 1831 and 1832 but left some definite achievements. Eventually the evils which roused this party to action were abolished and measures enacted to eradicate the evils. Public schools, free from the taint of charity, were established; mechanics' lien laws were passed; imprisonment for debt and commpulsory militia service were abolished; and trade unions were freed from the old law which made their existence a conspiracy.

Ultimately it was the revitalized trades unions of Philadelphia that won the old battle against working from "sun to sun". In a strike that roused the nation, the working men of Philadelphia forced the capitulation of the employers to agree to a ten-hour day on June 8, 1835.

When we come to the forties, an unexpected element was infused into the labor brew. John R. Commons describes this period: "The forties far outran the other periods in its unbounded loquacity. The columns of advertisements in a newspaper might announce for Monday night a meeting of the antislavery society; Tuesday night, the temperance society; Wednesday night, the graham bread society; Thursday night, a phrenological lecture; Friday night, an address against capital punishment; Saturday night, the 'Association for Universal Reform.'

Out of the welter of theory and the many failures of the theoretical colonies, rose one benefit to the workingman — the Building and Loan Association.

Originating as "unitary dwellings" so constructed as to take advantage of combined building without sacrificing the seclusion of the family circle, the Philadelphia Unitary Building Association got under way in 1849.

The first attempts to organize Building and Loan Associations were managed by trustees who held the deeds to the property. Abuses inevitably arose. Legislation was introduced to correct the evils by regulation of Building and Loan Associations.

Thus out of the theorizing of the intellectuals and their sincere attempts for human betterment through co-operation during the forties, one cooperative was to prove lasting for the workingman—that of the Building and Loan Association.

Meanwhile, successive attempts to organize unions were invariably retarded by the depressions, the depression of 1855 to 1862 intensified by the panic of 1857, for example, shattered practically all of the organizations.

Pennsylvania was the birthplace of the Knights of Labor, the organization whose parade on September 5, 1882, occasioned the expression "Labor Day."

This organization was born out of despair. The tailors of Philadelphia had been a strong union but the cheap work by which the Civil War government contracts had been filled for army supplies had undermined the standards.

The union was about to dissolve.

Uriah Stephens, a tailor in Philadelphia and a man of erudition, resolved that the idea must not perish. He determined to weld working men into an organization that should have solidarity.

Thus the Knights of Labor, based upon a romantic conception of a crusade, came into being.

The burden of his cry to battle was:

"The few are millionaires; the many struggle for bread. Where, if not here in this Western World, shall the patriotism and statesmanship be found to preserve the race from destruction? Neither the bayonet, nor bullets from gatling guns can save us. Justice to all alone can do it."

The history of the Knights of Labor is a long and complicated one. Suffice it to say that after many brave attempts, labor finally has achieved an organization that even the most selfish employer must recognize.

Oliver Hazard Perry

(Continued from Page 12)

Elliott, the same officer who discouraged Dobbins about building the ships was in charge of the other brig, the "Niagara." Elliott proceeded to act in the following two hours as if he were evading the enemy's fire. While the "Lawrence" was literally shelled to pieces, he persistently refused to engage the enemy, and only came towards the scene of action when he evidently thought Perry had been killed.

Perry, greatly incensed at Elliott's action, decided to risk all. To his officer Yarnall, Perry said: "If a victory is to be gained, I will gain it. . . . I will bring the brig into action." Forthwith he set out in a small boat which miraculously withstood the British fire concentrated on the "Lawrence," and safely reached the "Niagara."

There he assumed command, altered the course of the "Niagara," turned, and bore down on the British line. It was a quarter of three when the "Niagara" turned. A shot from the "Niagara" carried away one of the topsail stays of a British ship, which becoming unmanageable ran into a second British vessel. At this moment, the "Niagara" sailed down the line and while only a hundred feet away poured broadsides into the entangled vessels. Two other British battleships were likewise raked with terrible fire.

Within fifteen minutes, so swift and deadly did Perry fire at close range, that the battle was over. At three o'clock the British fleet surrendered.

Perry's laconic report to General Harrison has become a classic: "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

The Duke of Wellington well appreciated the importance of Perry's victory. When he was asked after his return from Waterloo to take charge of the British troops in Canada, he refused. He said: "Unless we can control the lakes, the venture is hopeless."

Despite the fact that the citizens of the United States regarded Perry as a great national hero, his triumph was to be embittered by the ruthless malice of Elliott, who seems to have been consumed with jealous hatred of the brilliant commander.

Perry's life after his achievement of fame at the early age of twenty-eight was destined to be brief.

Detailed by President Monroe to a diplomatic mission in Venezuela, he contracted yellow fever. On his thirty-fourth birthday, he died off the shore of the Port of Spain, Trinidad. There he was buried with full military honors tendered by the British troops. Six years later the United States Government removed his body to Newport, Rhode Island.

Today, the "Lawrence," his beloved flagship and the "Niagara," which he pressed into service to help America win independence, are both at Presque Isle where they were built. A WPA project to restore the "Niagara" has been proposed and in all probability the brig will be made into a shrine. Perry's persevering courage deserves remembrance for it has rarely been matched in American history.

Meet Mike Dabich

(Continued from Page 11)

In the town of Lebanon, 20 students are enrolled in the automobile mechanics class; 20 are studying electrical work; eight are taking mechanical drawing; five are studying radio; 18 are taking commercial training.

Since the WPA schools keep in close touch with employment agencies, they are ready to place workers when the breaks come. Many of the students in Lebanon are now working as unskilled laborers. But while WPA is pulling them through Depression as pick-and-shovel men, many are destined for employment as skilled workers and tradesmen.

For example, already Andrew C. Buby has graduated from WPA classes to a job as a wood pattern maker with a Philadelphia firm. Albert C. Dallas has moved up to a position with a lumber company at Tamaqua.

At the WPA Commercial School in Lebanon classes in bookkeeping, typewriting, business English and business arithmetic are under way. One graduate already has a job through his course in typewriting.

At the nearby town of Annville a group of 25 Italians is enrolled in a class where instruction varies from elementary reading and writing to advanced subjects. Of the same racial stock, the classmates are able to help each other along.

Three music teachers in the Lebanon County set-up are instructing in piano, theory of music, band work, and singing. Already the students have organized orchestras, bands and quartets. One of them, Earl Reber, is seeking a military school scholarship. One of his best selling points is his ability to play a band instrument.

The work in Lebanon County mirrors the State-wide scene.

Here are the counties with the five largest enrollments:

Lackawanna County has 6,154 students between 16 and 25, and 6,837 students over 25. Luzerne has 2,653 in the younger group, and 2,655 in the older. Philadelphia County leads all the rest with 15,519 students between 16 and 25, and 21,653 adult students. One of the most important groups in the WPA courses there are the juvenile delinquents under 16. More than 3,600 of them are getting a fair break under WPA. In Schuylkill County there are 13,053 persons in the 16-to-25 group, and 10,787 in the older group. Schuylkill has 649 juvenile delinquents studying in WPA courses. In Allegheny County where is enrolled the oldest student, a man of 74 who has learned to write, there are 5,218 in the 16-to-25 group, 6,299 in the older, and 283 in the juvenile delinquent group.

While the WPA Division of Education has been opening new vistas for those enrolled in those classes, it has also averted tragedy for thousands of men and women who are now enrolled as teachers.

For almost all these classes are conducted by men and women who were once on relief. They were skilled, cultured, able. But when depression struck their jobs vanished.

To give them work was a responsibility the government assumed. And WPA was the agency that did it.

As times improve and the U. S. moves under Roosevelt into the new era of prosperity of which the last two years have given us a foretaste, WPA is ready to return both teachers and students to private enterprises, their minds alert and their ambitions stirred by memories of worth-while work done with the aid of WPA.

LABOR BACKS ROOSEVELT

Text of F. D. R.'s Letter and John Lewis's Speech to Labor's Non-Partisan League

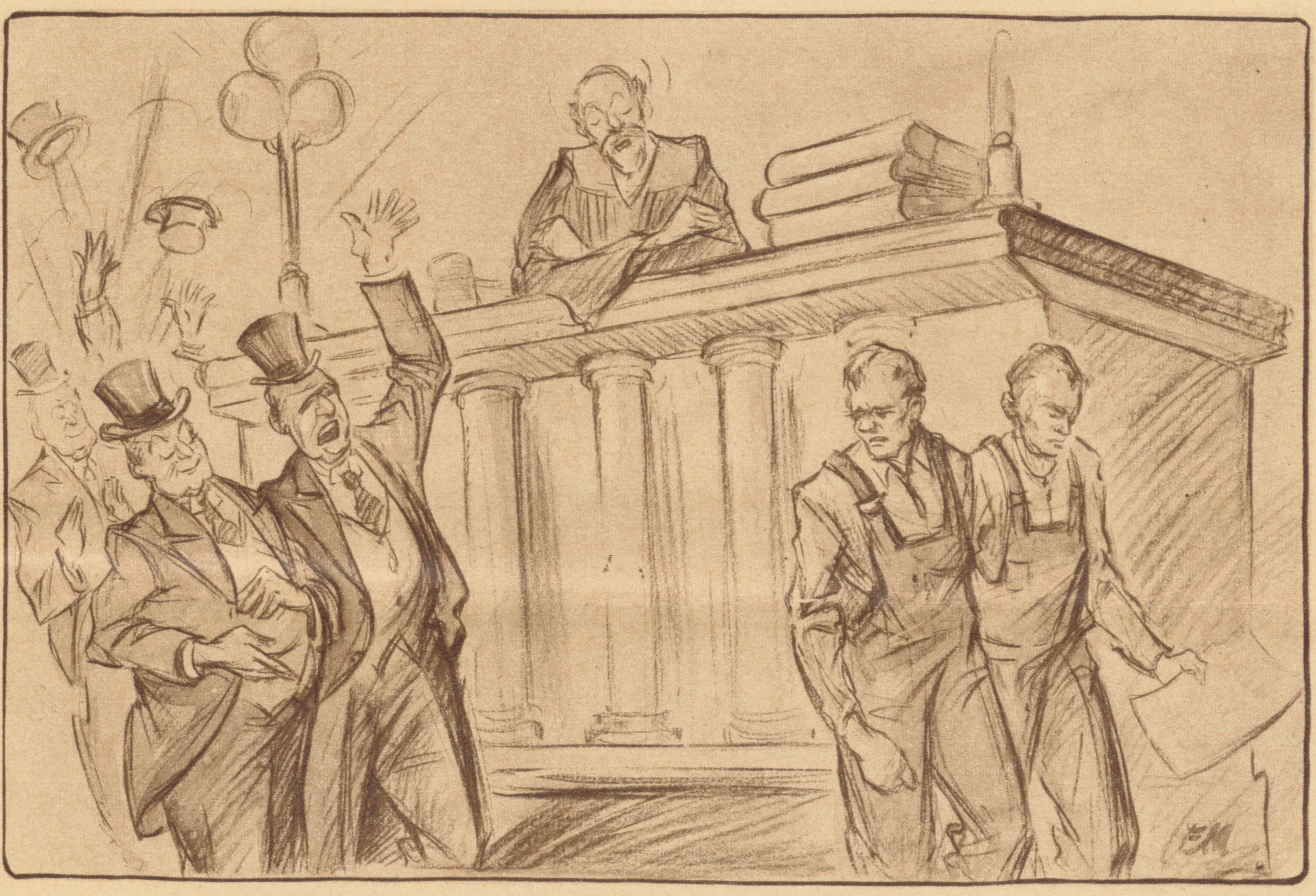
LABOR stands back of President Roosevelt because President Roosevelt stands back of Labor. That is one reason why Pennsylvania, with its great laboring population, will give its electoral vote to a Democrat for the first time in history, next November.

Following is the text of President Roosevelt's letter to Labor's Non-Partisan League, at a meeting of its State chairmen in Washington, and excerpts from the speech of John Lewellyn Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, at that same meeting:

"My dear Major Berry:

"It gives me real pleasure to extend a word of greeting through you to Labor's Non-Partisan League upon the occasion of the meeting of its State chairmen in Washington.

"I am certain that you and your associates are coming to Washington to join in a thorough consideration of the vital issues of the time and to cooperate in the great task of promoting progress and of enlarging through democracy of opportunity.



"It Was Not the Wage Earners Who Cheered When Those Laws Were Declared Invalid"

"It is fully realized by all of us that you are gathering to support a political cause, but that merely makes it the more certain that you are determined to enlarge the scope of human welfare in our nation.

"I should like to have you know that I am sincerely proud that you are gathering in support of my candidacy. This could not be the case if you did not know, out of the experience of the past three years, that the present Administration has endeavored to promote the ideal of justice for the great masses of America's wage earners, and to make that ideal a reality.

"We all know that our country has been going through profound changes and that these changes have necessitated special reconsideration of the problems of the wage earners and the farmers. Automatic machinery, the device of corporate ownership and management, the monumental accumulations of capital—these are some of the factors which have made it necessary for our country and its government to look at men and measures from a new point of view, seeking new means for the restoration of equality of opportunity.

"During the past three years we have endeavored to correct, through legislation, certain of the evils in our economic system. We have sought to put a stop to certain economic practices which did not promote the general welfare.

"Some of the laws which were enacted were declared invalid by the Supreme Court. It is a notable fact that it was not the wage earners who cheered when those laws were declared invalid.

"I greet you in the faith that future history will show, as past history has so repeatedly and effectively shown, that a return to reactionary practices is ever short-lived. Having tasted the benefits of liberation, men and women do not for long forego those benefits.

"I have implicit faith that we shall find a way to progress through law. Your support is a priceless contribution toward continued faith in that outcome.

"What is of vast importance at this critical time is the fact that we have a common heritage of principle, and that we are bound, with millions of our fellow Americans, in a common determination to preserve human freedom and enlarge its sphere and to prevent forever a return to that despotism which comes from unlicensed power to control and manipulate the resources of our nation and the destiny of human lives.

"In extending to all who attend your meeting my hearty felicitations, **I am heartened by the conviction that we are all working for the same ideal—the restoration and preservation of human liberty and human rights."**

Said John Lewellyn Lewis in his speech to the Non-Partisan League:

"Whoever were the managers of the country prior to 1929 failed miserably in that management. Their policies resulted in confusion and collapse, and for nearly seven long years every worker in America has paid a continuous penalty by reason of that mismanagement, by reason of that failure of statesmanship, by reason of the monumental stupidity which brought the greatest nation of the world to its economic knees and brought poverty, anguish and despair to the hearts of millions of our population.

"Who were those managers? Who were the men who ruled America?

"Who were the men who conceived and promulgated its political policies?

"Who were the men who administered those policies, wisely or unwisely?

"You know the answer; you know where the power rested. You know who exercised it and you know that it was not the men and women of labor.

"I doubt that the world has witnessed a more brazen piece of political effrontery than it is now witnessing when the leaders of the Republican Party nonchalantly ask the American people in the next election in November to elect for themselves to the office of Chief Executive of the United States a puppet President responsible to the Standard Oil Company, the steel industry, the Hearst newspapers and the bankers of Wall Street—a pitiful puppet from whom you and I and the average man who works for a living may expect if he should be elected, no more consideration than his masters who discovered him, who nominated him, and who are trying to elect him, will permit him to give you and me and the average man.

"God help the American people if all they have to depend on in the future is that degree of consideration that will come to them from this little man out in Topeka, Kansas, who has no more idea of what ails America or what to do about it than a goatherder in the hills of Bulgaria.

"Yes, Mr. Landon says that academically workers have the right to organize, and he says they have the right to send in an organizer. But he forgot to say that when the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smeltermen sent an organizer into the lead and zinc field of Kansas, Governor Landon saw that the organizer was followed by the National Guard with all of its paraphenalia of war, and it is a reasonable expectation that if in the nature of things it should come to pass that Alfred Mossman Landon should be elected President of the United States and some organization of labor send an organizer into the plants of the Standard Oil Company, I say it is a reasonable expectation on the record that the organizer would be followed by the United States Army.

"And yet the Republican Party asks the workers of the United States to vote for Landon for President of this nation so that those who finance and support the Republican Party may use Landon as their instrument to continue their selfish and their mercenary economic and industrial exploitation of the people of the United States.

"Labor is opposed to the election of a man as President of the United States merely on the grounds that he will be a loyal agent for the du Pont financial interests, the Standard Oil Company, the United States Steel Corporation, and the great banks of New York and Chicago.

"The leaders of American labor are not extremists. They want to make a contribution to the preservation and the stability of our country and its institutions. But the people who are placing our country and its institutions in jeopardy are the people like the du Ponts interests and the steel industry and the banking interests who concede nothing, take everything, and insist on electing to the office of President a pettifogging Governor of a State within the Union who, as the records show, during the three years of his tenure of office has never made a single contribution to the well-being of the working people in that State in the form of recommendations to his Legislature for remedial legislation of any character.

"I do not know, after this election, what labor will do, but after labor in 1936 is successful in re-electing to the Presidency of the United States the greatest humanitarian who ever served in that office, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, then labor will undertake to do that thing politically which labor believes to be of the greatest advantage to labor.

"I do not think the possessors of great wealth in this country yet have enough wealth to buy and deliver the American people at the polls next November. I do not think the American people can be bought.

"And that is one of the reasons why I firmly believe that the electoral vote of the great Keystone State of Pennsylvania in November of this year will be given by the people of that State to President Franklin Roosevelt in order to insure his re-election."

ELECTRICITY LIGHTENS FARM DRUDGERY

(See Story on Page 3)

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